UNITED NATIONS

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General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/45/PV.23
17 October 1990

ENGLISH

Forty-fifth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWENTY-THIRD MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 5 October 1990, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)
later:	Mr. LONCAR (Vice-President)	(Yugoslavia)
later:	Mr. de MARCO	(Malta)

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Coore (Jamaica)
Mr. Wakil (Afghanistan)
Mr. Al-Dali (Yemen)
Mr. Gombosuren (Mongolia)
Mr. Kadrat (Iraq)

/...

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- Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs: [17]

  (a) Appointment of members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions: report of the Fifth Committee

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. COORE (Jamaica): Sir, you are presiding over the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session, a time of momentous change and a crucial moment in history. In offering you warm and sincere congratulations, we are particularly pleased that someone with such skill and experience from an island nation that has played such an important part in international affairs is guiding our deliberations.

I also wish to express Jamaica's profound gratitude to outgoing President Joseph Garba of Nigeria for his dynamic and resourceful contribution to the success of the forty-fourth session. The 12-month period that has elapsed since the start of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly has been a remarkable one in the history of the world and has witnessed a number of critical initiatives being taken by this Organization.

The transformation of the political landscape of Eastern Europe is now almost complete, and the reunification of the German nation is an accomplished fact.

In Central America the promise of free and fair elections in Nicaragua has been honourably fulfilled and the people of that country can now turn their attention to dealing with their admittedly formidable economic and social problems.

In Panama there has been the restoration of a Government that can claim the legitimacy of popular support, even though that restoration took place in circumstances which many of us could not condone.

In Haiti there is renewed hope that before the end of this year the Haitian people will exercise their long-deferred right to select their Government through a process of free and fair elections. My country, Jamaica, in collaboration with our partners in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), has been assisting and stands ready to assist and to give what further help we can. Other Governments have also helped

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on a biateral basis. However, more is needed and the Government of Haiti has requested assistance from this Organization by way of financial and other support. We strongly support that request, which we believe should elicit a positive and prompt response, and we urge that every effort be made to overcome whatever procedural obstacles may exist so that the modest assistance requested by the Government of Haiti can be put in place right away.

In a number of other countries in this hemisphere, peaceful transfers of power have taken place and there is a refreshing absence of military dictatorships and the welcome presence of a growing spirit of co-operation among the nations of Latin America and the Caribbean, all of which augurs well for the future. The announcement by the President of the United States of a commitment to a far-reaching initiative designed to deal comprehensively and in a co-operative way with the grave economic and social problems of Latin America and the Caribbean opens up an exciting vista of positive challenges and opportunities.

In respect of the situation in southern Africa, at its sixteenth special session, devoted to apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa, this General Assembly adopted by consensus a historic Declaration listing the measures required for establishing a climate conducive to negotiations.

I am sure that we all note with satisfaction that the administration of President de Klerk has begun a process of positive change and that initial steps have been taken by the régime to improve the internal political atmosphere. These steps include the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, an occurrence of major political significance and importance; the unbanning of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other political organizations, and preliminary discussions with the ANC under the leadership of Mr. Mandela to establish the prerequisites for embarking on negotiations designed to achieve a peaceful end to the evil system of apartheid.

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Progress is being made in complying with the measures outlined in the Declaration adopted at the sixteenth special session and, indeed, the parties have now agreed in the Pretoria Minute of 6 August 1990 that "the way is now open to proceed towards negotiation of a new Constitution".

All of this is most welcome but, of course, despite the progress that has been made, the main pillars of apartheid still remain in place. As indicated by Mr. Nelson Mandela in his historic and moving address to the Special Committee against Apartheid on 22 June this year, sanctions should remain in force until clear and irrefutable evidence emerges of profound and irreversible change. Jamaica hopes that, despite the obstacles that exist within both the black and the white communities, the initial steps that have been taken will lead to the commencement of negotiations in earnest and will bring an end in peaceful fashion to the abominable system and practice of apartheid and to the establishment of a just, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa.

On the continent of Asia we note with satisfaction that important, though admittedly still limited, steps are being taken to end the division of the Korean peninsula, which represents one of the few remaining legacies of the cold war. The United Nations, the whole international community and those individual countries with strong bilateral ties with North and South Korea should do everything possible to assist in the successful evolution of that process.

This past year has also witnessed a number of important initiatives that have been launched by the Organization in areas of universal concern.

The seventeenth special session of the General Assembly, on the subject of drugs, which was held earlier this year, provided an opportunity for countries to state clearly their commitment to take co-ordinated action to combat drug abuse and illicit trafficking and culminated in the adoption of a Political Declaration and Global Programme of Action.

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We have for some time now recognized the need to enhance the efficiency of the United Nations structure for drug abuse control. Therefore, Jamaica was very pleased to have had the opportunity to be represented on the Group of Experts which had been mandated to assist the Secretary-General in examining the modalities for more effective action within the United Nations system.

The recommendations of that Expert Group are now before the Secretary-General for consideration. We anticipate the very early conclusion of deliberations on the matter and the prompt establishment of an integrated structure through which Member States can more effectively co-ordinate their efforts on all aspects of the drug problem.

In coping with the global phenomenon of drugs, it is becoming increasingly evident that demand reduction is a key element and that this is an essential part of any serious drug eradication programme. We therefore express special satisfaction at the growing international recognition of the importance of drug demand reduction as a means of controlling both production and abuse. We of course participated fully in the World Ministerial Summit to Reduce Demand for Drugs and to Combat the Cocaine Threat, which was held in the United Kingdom in April this year, and we note with satisfaction the successful outcome of the meeting.

In the area of economic co-operation, a fresh, although admittedly modest start, was made at the eighteenth special session of the General Assembly, which adopted by consensus a Declaration on International Economic Co-operation, in particular the Revitalization of Economic Growth and Development of the Developing Countries. We must now seek to build on this consensus. We hope that international economic co-operation will be further stimulated by current events in view of the need to overcome the negative effects of the crisis in the Gulf, particularly on oil-importing developing countries already staggering under a burden of debt and numerous other problems.

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It is widely acknowledged that the consensus reached at the special session was an important first step in the economic co-operation that the international community has to undertake in the process of carrying out the agreed commitments and policies. These commitments and policies must, of course, in the first instance be implemented at the national level. Many developing countries, including my own country, are in fact already endeavouring to implement policies aimed at keeping control over inflationary tendencies, promoting domestic savings, achieving favourable conditions for domestic and foreign investments, modernizing the economy and increasing international competitiveness. However, the success of these policies will depend crucially on the support of the international community in areas such as enlarged market access, transfer of resources and, above all, a durable and broad solution of the external debt problems of the developing countries.

On the critical issue of external debt, we welcomed the Secretary-General's appointment of the distinguished statesman Bettino Craxi to examine the current debt question in all its aspects. We trust that his several recommendations, which include debt-servicing forgiveness, the conversion of interest payments into indexed local currency funds to finance development projects, the strengthening of regional banks, and debt-equity swaps, will be fully discussed both nationally and internationally and that some workable consensus on the way forward will be found. In particular we continue to insist that some mechanism must be devised to deal with the special situation of those countries, like my own, that find themselves in the position of being net transferrers of resources to the multilateral lending institutions.

The World Summit for Children held here last weekend provided a timely opportunity to focus international attention on the pressing questions related to

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the protection and development of the world's children. The countries participating in the Summit demonstrated a high degree of political solidarity in agreeing to a number of comprehensive policies and strategies designed to ensure the future well-being, survival and growth of children all over the world. The Government of Jamaica has already made children a priority in its recently developed "Five-Year National Development Plan" and will continue to seek ways and find the resources to fulfil its commitment to these important goals.

Those positive developments on the political scene and the initiatives undertaken in relation to international co-operation in respect of narcotic trafficking, economic development and social concern might well have led us at this session of the General Assembly to look with optimism towards the continuing evolution of a more peaceful, harmonious, humane and caring international environment in which the struggle for a world order based on social justice and individual freedom could proceed with confidence. Unfortunately, any such optimism has been severely dampened by the crisis in the Persian Gulf region brought on by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. This act of totally unjustified aggression has rightly been condemned by virtually the entire world community of nations and has rightly been met with an uncompromising demand for unconditional withdrawal of the invading forces, and sanctions have rightly been visited on the aggressor.

Most international disputes, and even some unilateral acts of aggression, when dispassionately examined will usually be found to contain elements of moral ambiguity or legal doubt. The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq is an exception to this general experience. It is an act of naked, unrelieved aggression without any semblance of conceivable justification or excuse. Kuwait did not present any conceivable threat to the security of Iraq, nor was there any call from elements within the country for relief or assistance against an oppressive or illegal

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Government. It is a sovereign State and a Member of this Organization that has been recognized as such by all other Members, including Iraq. In these circumstances, for the United Nations to fail to take action or to settle for anything less than the withdrawal of the invading forces, so as to permit the Kuwaiti people to continue to decide their own destiny, would be to condemn this Organization for ever to impotence and futility.

The attempt will undoubtedly be made, as indeed to some extent it has been made, to portray the impasse in the Gulf region as a confrontation between the United States and Iraq. It is important for everyone to recognize that, while the United States inevitably has the responsibility of playing a leading role, what is really involved is a confrontation between Iraq and the United Nations. Neither is the issue at stake one that is important only because the region is a major producer of oil. The principle involved is one of fundamental importance to every country, particularly to those developing countries which do not have the military strength to defend themselves against aggression or a take-over by more powerful neighbours. For such countries the only hope of lasting security lies in the unequivocal acceptance by the international community of the sanctity of a sovereign nation's right to determine its own destiny and the willingness of the nation States that constitute this Organization to enforce that principle on their behalf. What is at stake, therefore, is the fundamental basis on which a peaceful and secure world order must rest.

My country joins with the overwhelming majority of all mankind in its unequivocal support of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the actions that have been taken pursuant thereto. We do so in the full realization of the severe economic hardships that have befallen and will continue to befall non-oil-producing developing countries like ours as a result of the dramatic

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escalation of oil prices that has taken place over the past two months. We are not, of course, the only sufferers. Nor is our plight the most dramatic. That melancholy distinction belongs to the people of Kuwait, to neighbouring countries whose trade has been devastated and security threatened, and to the tens of thousands of refugees whose livelihood, and in many cases basic possessions, have been lost overnight. Urgent help must continue to be mobilized on their behalf. Nevertheless, the drastic inflation of oil prices will, if continued much longer, affect the entire world economy. The developed industrialized countries will suffer some decline in growth rates, but, as happened in 1973 and 1979, they have room for manoeuvre to take defensive action and to cushion themselves against the worst effects. Few, if any, such options are open to the oil-importing developing countries, already burdened with debt and just beginning to emerge from a decade of painful adjustment which was, in large measure, brought on by the oil-price shocks of 1973 and 1979. Such countries are hit a double blow. The first immediate damage is caused by the pre-emption of scarce foreign exchange to meet the increased cost of importing the oil necessary to keep their production machines going and satisfy their basic needs for electricity and transportation. The second blow comes from the reduction of world trade due to the defensive deflationary and conservation measures taken by the developed industrialized nations, which will reduce the demand for their exports and further depress the prices of most of the other commodities on which they rely for export earnings. It should be noted, moreover, that for the oil-producing developing countries the short-term bonanza is likely to prove, as experience has shown, both illusory and dangerous.

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The defence mechanisms of contraction and conservation adopted by their main customers sooner or later produce the inevitable effect of a fall in oil prices every bit as precipitous as the artificially induced escalation. The fact is that the permanent interests of the oil-producing countries too are best served by a stable and orderly market in which prices move in a predictable way and in conformity with the requirements of growing and expanding world trade and a secure world economy.

We urge the industrialized nations, the international financial institutions and the oil-producing countries to decide on and implement without delay an emergency programme to assist non-oil-producing developing countries, whose economies are facing disastrous stresses, not next year or in the long run but right now. To many such countries, assistance delayed is tantamount to assistance denied. We strongly support the view, expressed by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, that the United Nations should take the lead in promoting and co-ordinating such a programme and should do so as a matter of extreme urgency.

Already we have seen some welcome evidence of both an acceptance of the need for action and the willingness to take it. In this regard, we applaud the decision of the Government of Saudi Arabia to increase its oil production and the offer by Mexico and Venezuela to introduce temporary modifications in the San José Accord which will assist in providing some relief to the countries of Central America and the Caribbean. The decision by the United States to release some of its strategic reserves is also most welcome. The Soviet Union, the largest oil producer in the world, has expressed its willingness to co-operate in a global programme of action. At the recently concluded meeting of the Board of Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the need for those institutions to

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provide some immediate financial relief, particularly to the poorest and most indebted countries, was also explicitly recognized.

Clearly, therefore, the will exists. What is needed now is effective and co-ordinated action. Let us hope that it comes soon.

However, even as we grapple with the immediate economic effects of the present crisis, we must begin to direct our minds to the more fundamental and long-term issue of world energy supplies.

Given the present structure of the world economy and the existing state of technology, there is no escaping the fact that oil is a unique commodity - unique in the sense that its availability and cost play a decisive role in the orderly functioning of the world economy and, therefore, of the prospects for a world order of peace, stability and economic growth that will make possible a better life for all mankind.

In the light of this, the world community must ask itself whether the availability and cost of this commodity can continue to be left to the vagaries of an unregulated market that has shown itself to be so easily destabilized. Moreover, one cannot escape the suspicion that it is a market which in a time of crisis or uncertainty is readily susceptible to manipulation. I say this because the present escalation of oil prices does not reflect either a corresponding and proportionate shortage of actual supply or an increased demand. It is speculative and artificial. The day will eventually come when the technology of alternative sources of energy has developed to the point where oil is no longer a unique commodity. But that day is still some distance away. In the meanwhile, is it acceptable for the world economy to remain in continued danger of the roller-coaster ride in oil prices which we witnessed in the recent past and which now threatens us again?

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It has been said that those who forget history are condemned to repeat it. We cannot afford to miss once again, as we did in the 1970s, the opportunity to establish a mechanism which would enable both the oil producers and the oil consumers to enjoy the benefits of a stable market in this commodity. By this I mean a market which will be fair to both producers and consumers, a market which will move in an orderly and predictable way as the world economy and world trade develop and which will, as far as practicable, be insulated from the effects of random political events and speculative manipulation.

The establishment of such a mechanism will obviously require a high degree of agreement, co-operation and co-ordination on a global scale. It will be difficult and will not be accomplished overnight. Nevertheless, I suggest that this is a task which the Organization, representing as it does all the nations and peoples involved, needs to put on its agenda for urgent and serious consideration.

The Secretary-General and his staff continue to do a remarkable job, for which they deserve not only our profound gratitude but our unstinting support as they tackle the formidable agenda that lies ahead. My country pledges such support and reaffirms its commitment to this great Organization, which more than ever today is the repository and guarantor of our hopes for a world of peace, security and justice.

Mr. WAKIL (Afghanistan) (spoke in Dari; English text furnished by the delegation): Allow me, first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the high post of the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session. I wish you every success in the fulfilment of the great tasks before you. Your experience, wisdom and skills make us confident of the fruitful outcome of the work of the current international gathering.

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I wish also to express my gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Joseph Garba of Nigeria, for his outstanding contribution to the work of the forty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

May I also take this opportunity to extend to the delegation of Liechtenstein my warm congratulations on its joining the United Nations as the newest Member of the Organization. Liechtenstein's application and admission are yet another testimony to the universality of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

Under the qualitatively new international conditions, the United Nations has taken great steps towards achieving a wide range of international goals. The personal efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, in furthering those goals deserve our praise and gratitude. We want the role of the United Nations and its Secretary-General to be further enhanced in the maintenance and consolidation of international peace and security, understanding among nations and the political solution of regional conflicts.

In recent years, we have been witness to tremendous changes in the world. This change is characterized by the emergence of an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation in East-West relations as a whole and in relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union in particular. The democratic changes in Eastern Europe, the reunification of Germany, the democratic gains in Nicaragua and the impetus in efforts to resolve regional conflicts by peaceful means are indicators of the scope of these transformations. The continuation of this process in the light of the restructuring of international relations gives reason to hope for the establishment of a world community living together in peace, harmony and co-operation.

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The Republic of Afghanistan welcomes the continuing summit meetings between Soviet and United States leaders and the understandings that have been reached in those meetings, and it calls on other countries to join in the process.

The Republic of Afghanistan believes that it is necessary to strengthen the régime for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We believe that the cessation of nuclear tests in the sea, underground and in the atmosphere is an important step towards general disarmament and that the United Nations is capable of promoting the process widely.

We call for the elimination of stockpiles of chemical and bacteriological weapons and for the creation of nuclear-free zones in different regions of the world. The work of the Ad hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean and the conversion of that ocean into a zone of peace and co-operation must be expedited. We applaud any reduction in military budgets and the consequent transfer of huge funds to socio-economic development.

While the international political atmosphere has improved, the present international economic order does not meet the needs of the developing and the least-developed countries.

The increasing deterioration of the terms of trade, to the detriment of the developing countries; high interest rates and the unfavourable terms of foreign loans; the fall in the income from raw materials; and the high price of imported goods, particularly of advanced technology - these factors have further widened the gap between the developed and the developing countries. This calls for the introduction of reasonable changes in international economic relations.

For more than a decade Afghanistan - a war-stricken, least-developed and land-locked country - has received no assistance or credits from a number of countries and international financial organizations. That is why we welcome the results achieved at the eighteenth special session of the United Nations General

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Assembly, devoted to International Economic Co-operation, in particular the Revitalization of Economic Growth and Development of the Developing Countries, and at the second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which was held in Paris in September 1990. We call for the solution of the existing problems in international economic relations and for specific action by the United Nations.

The Republic of Afghanistan has followed with great concern the recent grave developments in the Gulf region. As a Muslim country, we are concerned at the negative effect that these developments have had on the unity of the Arab world. They have also provided grounds for military confrontation in this sensitive region. As a country that, unfortunately, has gone through a decade of war, we are aware of the human suffering and material destruction that war can bring about. Therefore, we earnestly hope that the explosive situation in the region will be resolved by peaceful, political means. We urge the Arab and international communities to exert every effort to find a peaceful solution. Such a solution would be in the interests of all sides. War should be avoided by all possible means.

In the Middle East, the occupation of Arab and Palestinian lands, including Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights, continues. We support the Palestinian intifadah and condemn the illegal settlement of Jewish refugees in the occupied lands. We call for the convening of an international conference in which all the sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, would participate on an equal footing. We welcome recent improvements in the relations between the two Islamic countries of Iran and Iraq.

The Republic of Afghanistan supports the unity, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and wants to see the Lebanese people given the

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chance to put an end to the civil war without foreign intervention. The Republic of Afghanistan welcomes the good offices of the United Nations for the settlement of the Cyprus problem in conformity with Security Council resolution 649 (1990).

The Republic of Afghanistan welcomes the latest accords resulting from the Jakarta talks on the political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and supports the participation of the United Nations in the process. In this regard, we should like to see a resolution adopted unanimously at the current session of the General Assembly.

We welcome the unification of Yemen, and we support the reunification of the Korean peninsula, in accordance with the desire and will of its people, without interference from the outside.

In Latin America, we support the continuation of the talks aimed at the political settlement of the situation in El Salvador.

While welcoming the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and the beginning of talks between the African National Congress of South Africa and the South African Government, we note that the abhorrent apartheid régime has not yet been dismantled. We believe that further dialogue can lead to a political and peaceful solution of the situation in South Africa.

We stress the need for continued talks between the POLISARIO Front and the Government of Morocco and for their joint co-operation with the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

Despite our earnest wishes and specific, practical efforts, and despite the very welcome improvement in the world atmosphere, the situation in our region is far from desirable. In fact, it has deteriorated further. The intensification of interference and aggression and the rude sabotaging of the Geneva Agreements not only has turned Afghanistan into a bleeding wound for the Afghans but also poses a serious menace to peace and stability in our region. In blatant violation of the

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Geneva agreements, and with disregard for the good will of the Republic of Afghanistan, which wants to achieve peace and good-neighbourly relations based on non-interference by countries in each other's internal affairs, Pakistan retains on its territory all the ways and means of interference and aggression against the Republic of Afghanistan. In fact, by spreading new types of weapons of mass annihilation, such as cluster rockets, it has given the war a new dimension and a new quality.

The armed extremists - people trained and armed in Pakistan - continue to massacre inhabitants of cities, with total disregard for human and moral norms. From 19 January to 22 September 1990 alone, 1,662 rockets were fired on different parts of Kabul city. As a result, 74 women, 115 children, 225 elderly people, 36 teachers and students, 76 public-service personnel, 1 physician, 112 pedlars, 39 Government employees, and others - totalling 728 persons - were killed. The persons injured in these incidents include 21 women, 112 children, 90 elderly people, 11 students, 36 public-service personnel, 5 physicians, 640 pedlars, and others - totalling 954.

As a result of rocket fire during this period, 155 residential houses, 8 mosques, 1 hospital, 2 colleges, 1 girls' school, the steam house of the third microrayan and 1 high school were destroyed. The private enterprises that have been damaged by rockets include a confectionary factory situated in the industrial park, where 3 workers were killed and 20 others were severely injured.

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City bus stops are not safe from the opposition's rockets either. On 10 October 1988, when a rocket landed on the Timor Shahi bus stop in Kabul City, 25 women, children and young persons were killed and another 78 injured. Another shocking incident was the shooting of rockets by the opposition on the Khair Khana bus stop in Deh Afghanan which caused the death of 30 persons and injuries to 81 others.

Among the numerous shocking, sorrowful and sad incidents of opposition rocketry are the destruction of residential houses which have caused either the total or the partial elimination of the families living in them. In a rocket incident on 21 May 1990 in Deh Bori area, the third district of Kabul City, the house of Maliha, daughter of Mohammad Zaman, was destroyed. Shah Wali, her husband, and Nadia and Khatera, her daughters, were killed. Khaled, her son, and Nazira, her daughter, were severely injured and disabled. In another rocket incident, in the Etefaq mosque of Shah Shaheed, Kabul City, three daughters and a son of Mohammad Naser, named Pari, Nooria, Fahima and Kawoon were killed.

Such is the everyday, painful destiny of our children, women and youth who are swallowed by death. In the name of human rights, freedom, democracy and justice, we should devote all our efforts to putting an end to the horrible tragedy of Afghans killing Afghans in a war, the futility of which is evident to all. The cessation of the tragedy of Afghanistan and help for rebuilding the country should not be made conditional on developments in Eastern Europe, on the Gulf crisis and on ending other regional conflicts, because for over a decade our country has been a scene of confrontation.

In the past 10 years war has inflicted huge material and human losses on our country. The total losses amount to billions of dollars. The war has left behind 1 million killed and over a million maimed. A considerable number of our

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compatriots have taken refuge owing to the pain and misery of war. For this very reason the people of Afghanistan have become fed up with the war and it was to answer this substantial need of the Afghan people that we declared the policy of national reconciliation.

We know from whence come the lethal weapons which are stockpiled on the territory of Pakistan and are then dispatched to the Republic of Afghanistan to bring death and destruction. However, the Geneva Agreements in particular and international law in general forbid Pakistan to give refuge to the opponents of its neighbouring country, and to equip and send them for the brutal killing of the inhabitants of its neighbour. We signed the Geneva Agreements for the termination of such interference, not for its intensification. The Republic of Afghanistan notified the Office of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan and Pakistan (OSGAP) about these aggressive acts by 1,545 notes, reporting 11,657 cases of violations. We do not know how many more notes are required to complete the list of violations and how many more Afghans will fall victim to this imposed war in order to quench the thirst of the designers of the policy of force and military pressure. In our opinion, the mandate of OSGAP should be organized in such a way as to handle the task required by the Geneva agreements.

The military circles of Pakistan, who have time and time again sabotaged the democratic will of the people of Pakistan, have also arrogated unto themselves the right to talk on behalf of the Afghan opposition controlled by them. However, the assertion that the people of Afghanistan are not ready for peace and national reconciliation is a manifestation of the designs of those circles and is not a reflection of the will of the Afghan people, who, after a decade of suffering from war and destruction, desire nothing but peace. In fact, in the years 1989 and 1990 as a result of contacts between the Government and various commanders of the armed

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opposition groups inside the country, over 922 armed and unarmed groups comprising 88,269 armed men have given up war. Protocols have been signed with 604 armed and unarmed groups of 114,332 men on ceasing combat activities. Talks are being carried on with 109 groups of 17,411 armed men and 35,381 unarmed men. Indeed, talks on national accord between the State and the leadership of almost all the opposition groups have been continuing discreetly for quite some time. We hope that sooner rather than later these talks will come into the open, culminating in full inter-Afghan understanding. It is also our hope that our neighbours will assist in facilitating these talks rather than stand in their way. Unfortunately, however, the attitude of those in the Pakistani military circles as a factor of instability in our region remains unchanged. Not only in Afghanistan but also in India's Kashmir and Punjab they continue to interfere in the internal affairs of their neighbours.

While international efforts are directed towards solving regional conflicts, including the situation in Afghanistan, we regret the fact that Saudi Arabia's attitude of complicating the situation in our country remains unchanged. Even with the crisis in the Gulf region, in which the country is also involved, we have recently witnessed fresh steps on its part towards encouraging tension in our country. We believe Saudi Arabia could and should concentrate its efforts on resolving differences which, unfortunately, exist among Islamic and Arab countries and on putting an end to the fratricidal war in Afghanistan.

The Republic of Afghanistan has lately proposed a new mechanism for peace, the main points of which are the following: in the first stage, a period for cooling down the situation is envisaged in order to provide the prerequisites for talks on topics that include a referendum, a general or partial cease-fire and the return of refugees. With the beginning of negotiations between the conciliating sides a transitional period would start and would last until the formation of a new,

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elected government. During this period, a national peace conference could be called and the co-ordinating commission for elections and the commissions for drafting the constitution and the law on elections would be set up in order to draft the said laws. The Loya Jirgah, as Grand Assembly, would approve the new constitution and elect the President of the Republic. Parliamentary elections would be held on the basis of general, free, equal, secret and direct ballot and an elected government would be formed. The Republic of Afghanistan stands ready to accept United Nations-supervised elections.

In order to solve the external aspect of the situation related to Afghanistan, United Nations-sponsored international conference could be held to reach an agreement on stopping the supply of arms to the warring sides, to determine the permanent neutral and demilitarized status of Afghanistan and to provide for international assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Afghanistan. The Republic of Afghanistan is of the opinion that proposals for a political and peaceful solution of the Afghanistan issue could be different, but its most important elements should be a cease-fire, intra-Afghan dialogue and free and democratic elections. The political settlement should have a constant, comprehensive and just characteristic and should be organized on the basis of the existing realities of Afghan society.

It is unrealistic to give the same, parallel status to the position of the Republic of Afghanistan and to that of the opposition. In stark contrast to the position of the opposition, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has ruled out a military solution, having proclaimed the policy of national reconciliation which it puts into effect persistently. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan on several occasions has put forward specific constructive proposals in this regard.

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It has declared unilateral cease-fires, calling on the other side to adopt a similar approach. The opposition, however, has rejected those proposals, issuing ultimatums and demanding the transfer of political power to them with the total negation of the Homeland Party. The irrational stand of the opposition has left the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan with no choice but to defend itself. Thus the responsibility for the continuation of fratricidal war rests with the leaders of the opposition and their supporters and sponsors.

To the State of the Republic of Afghanistan, its leadership and the Homeland Party no interests or privileges have priority over the supreme national interests of the people of Afghanistan, the ensuring of peace and the reconstruction of the country. Vast national efforts and huge international assistance are necessary for the reconstruction of our devastated, war-stricken country. It is a deeply humanistic obligation to co-operate with a country that has suffered heavily from war.

In the difficult conditions of the continuation of the war and its intensification, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan is carrying out great and constructive tasks. Decisively staying away from the unsound line of past leadership, it follows a policy that is in conformity with the realities of Afghan society. It is deeply faithful to the sacred religion of Islam. The free market economy is currently dominant in the country. Fundamental measures are being taken to democratize the country's political life and to observe the principles and norms of human rights. Our efforts and achievements in this regard have been reflected in the reports of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, Professor Felix Ermacora, to the General Assembly at its forty-fourth session and to the Commission at its forty-sixth session. Concerning the human

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

rights question, the doors of our country are open, not only to the Special Rapporteur: non-governmental organizations such as Asia Watch and the International Committee of the Red Cross also enjoy our full co-operation. As a result of those measures the authority and influence of the State have been further enhanced and it has demonstrated its capability to survive.

While welcoming the efforts made by the international community and by the countries concerned and the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America as guarantors of the Geneva Agreements towards resolving this issue through political means, we reiterate that the key to the restoration of peace is in the hands of Afghans themselves, who can attain it through talks and dialogue.

If an improvement in the stand of the United States regarding the political solution of the Afghan issue is possible and probable, it is our hope that its practical manifestation would soon become evident and that the United States policy can play an effective contributing role in ensuring peace in our region. At the same time, Pakistan's position vis-à-vis the situation in Afghanistan must not stand in the way of United States policy, postponing the solution of the situation because of its political designs.

As an Islamic and non-aligned country and because of its sensitive strategic location in the heart of Asia, the Republic of Afghanistan calls for the further expansion of relations with all the countries of the world, particularly Islamic and neighbouring countries. These relations should be based on the principles of good-neighbourliness, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, and mutually beneficial co-operation in different spheres for coexistence, peace, disarmament, development and the reduction of international tension.

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

We believe that the expansion of the consolidation of relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran - a brotherly neighbouring country with which we enjoy deep religious, historical and cultural relations - is in line with the interest of our peoples and the people of the region. While we are in favour of friendly relations with our great neighbour, China, we expect it to contribute further to ensuring peace in our country. The Republic of Afghanistan is for improving our relation with our neighbour, Pakistan, and we believe that such an improvement is in the interest of our peoples and of peace and security in our region.

Our traditionally friendly relations and economic co-operation with the Soviet Union and India are developing and expanding to our satisfaction. The Republic of Afghanistan receives sufficient economic assistance from the Soviet Union on the basis of bilateral agreements and international norms which plays a significant role in improving economic conditions of our country and the stability of the situation in our region.

I would like once again to draw the attention of the world public to the point that, as far as the Republic of Afghanistan is concerned, there is no obstacle to the voluntary return of the Afghan refugees to their ancestral country. Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to express my thanks to Mr. Sadruddin Agha Khan, Co-ordinator of the United Nations Humanitarian and Economic Assistance to the People of Afghanistan and to Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), for their efforts to assist the Afghan returnees. I take this opportunity to express my thanks to the Heads of the World Health Organization, the World Food Programme and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations for their assistance.

In the course of the implementation of the plan of the High Commissioner for Refugees and the Co-ordinator for the return of 40,000 families of Afghan refugees - 250,000 persons - in a period of three months, it has become evident

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

that the irreconcilable armed extremist groups and the military intelligence circles of Pakistan, particularly after the dismissal of Benazir Bhutto's government, create serious obstacles to the implementation of the programme. The establishment of Jam post located on the Torkhan-Peshawar main road belonging to the Khales group, Shah Gai post in Ali Masjid, Khaiber agency, belonging to Gulbuddin group and Meechi post in Lowar Gai, Khaiber agency, belonging to Wahabi Sayaf and the creation of a 30-member mobile post attached to Gulbuddin's extremist group have not only hampered the return of refugees; they have also led to arresting and interrogating refugees and plundering the property of refugees who have registered for repatriation. Mining of the routes by the opposition is another serious hurdle in the way of repatriation. For instance, the return of refugees has been stopped owing to the mining of routes in Kandahar Province.

Our opponents do not even have mercy on the personnel of relief agencies and international organizations that have rushed to help the Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Afghanistan. They threaten, loot and even kill them. The international community should therefore exert pressure on Pakistan not to hamper the implementation of the UNHCR programme.

The Republic of Afghanistan is situated in a region that has been turned into one of the dangerous centres of the illicit cultivation, production, processing and trafficking of narcotic drugs. The fact is that the continuation of war against the Republic of Afghanistan and the wide participation of the leaders of the Afghan opposition groups based in Pakistan and some Pakistani circles have given an extensive dimension to this grave situation. The leaders of Afghan opposition groups not only do not deny their contribution to the smuggling of narcotic drugs; but they consider it the source of financing for the so-called Jehad - Holy War - against the Muslim people of Afghanistan.

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

The illicit cultivation, production, smuggling and trafficking of narcotic drugs, which are also tied in with the smuggling of weapons and terrorism, pose a serious threat not only to our country and our region but also to the present and future generations of Europe and the United States of America. To combat this threat requires the joint efforts of all countries, the United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies.

Although facing difficult economic conditions and a complicated military situation arising from intervention and aggression by Pakistan, the Republic of Afghanistan has taken specific steps to attack the problem. We have formed a high commission to combat the production, smuggling and use of narcotic drugs and we have approved a national programme to this effect.

In the course of the last four years, the organs for the struggle against narcotic drugs have seized and eliminated 9,432.1 kilograms of opium, 10,231.7 kilograms of hashish and 13,316 kilograms of heroin. Similarly, 134 arrests have been made in the course of five months and narcotics crops cultivated in hundreds of hectares of land have been destroyed.

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

The Republic of Afghanistan has already presented proposals for joining the efforts of various countries and the United Nations in combating narcotic drugs. I would like to bring them to the attention of the international community.

We propose that a special commission should be set up to draw up a comprehensive plan of action to eliminate and prevent the illicit traffic in narcotic drugs in the border areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan known as the Golden Crescent, where 80 per cent of the world's opium is produced. A commission of that kind could be formed with the participation of the Republic of Afghanistan and the neighbouring countries, and also of representatives of the Western European countries and the United States.

I would like to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations and also the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control (UNFDAC) for drawing the attention of other countries to the matter of the establishment of this commission. We expect the United Nations to take practical steps in this direction.

I should like to reiterate the proposal of the Republic of Afghanistan on holding a regional conference and on reaching regional agreements acceptable to all sides with a view to intensifying the campaign against narcotic drugs, with the participation of experts from the interested countries in the region, the Western European countries, the United States of America and the United Nations related specialized agencies, under the supervision of the United Nations and with its co-operation. In addition, I propose that an office of UNFDAC should be set up in Afghanistan in order to co-operate closely with the Government of Afghanistan and assist it in combating narcotic drugs.

In conclusion, allow me once again to express the loyalty and commitment of the Republic of Afghanistan to the principles and objectives of the Charter.

(Mr. Wakil, Afghanistan)

I am confident that under your leadership, Mr. President, the discussions of the current sessions, which have been free of ideological influences, and the decisions and resolutions of this session, which I hope will be adopted with full backing, will play a significant role in the emergence of greater understanding and co-operation between the nations of the world, in the finding of solutions to the problems facing the world community, and in creating a safer world for us all to live in. The delegation of Afghanistan is prepared to render you all co-operation in achieving these goals.

Mr. AL-DALI (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): It gives me great pleasure to extend to the President our warmest congratulations on his election to the presidency of this session. I am confident that thanks to his wisdom and great abilities, he will lead this session to success, thus proving that the confidence we have in him is well placed. This confidence can also be attributed to the high esteem in which his friendly country, Malta, is held in the international community.

I would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the previous President, Mr. Joseph Garba, for his efforts in the wise conduct of the previous session.

We would like to renew our support for the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his consistent efforts aimed at realizing the principles of the Charter.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express our gratification at seeing among us the delegation of the independent State of Namibia, which has achieved its independence after a long struggle by its valiant people. I welcome Liechtenstein as a new Member of the United Nations, and congratulate the people of Germany on their great achievement, unity.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

I would like also to express our happiness at seeing the African leader, Nelson Mandela, free at last, pursuing his struggle, along with his people, for the complete elimination of the racist regime in South Africa.

The most outstanding characteristic of this session is that it represents a rebirth of the United Nations, and ushers in a new era in the life and history of this international Organization after 45 years of its existence and the end of the cold and the ideological war between the world's two principal blocs. It also marks the beginning of the end of the military alliances in East and West.

This important historic development is characterized by the shift from confrontation to co-operation, the emergence of a new world order and a new system of international relations. This has taken the form of laws and frameworks which aim at consolidating co-operation between States pursuant to the Charter in a context of respect for the rule of law and the principles of the Charter.

Foremost among those principles is the settlement of disputes between States by peaceful means, respect for international law as the basis of relations between States, and expansion of co-operation between States on the basis of the most fundamental of principles, such as the respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and the non-use of force. It is only natural that this most important, positive characteristic augurs well for peace.*

Previously, the Security Council was a mere paralysed organ that was made unable to perform its main duty under the Charter, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. Its activities were limited to mitigating the consequences of armed conflicts by dispatching peace-keeping forces. This had become its most outstanding function. Previously, then, the Security Council was a

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* Mr. Loncar (Yugoslavia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

mere organ, not for resolving political and military conflicts, but rather for deepening the political conflict between the two major blocs. Indeed, it had turned into an arena for record breaking in the use, or rather the abuse, of veto.

Previously, too, the Security Council succeeded only in formulating a framework for resolving conflicts without being able to put an end to such conflicts. Thus, its resolutions became inapplicable theoretical formulae. The world lost interest in the Security Council's resolutions. Due to the paralysis of its decision-making mechanism and its inability to enforce its resolutions in line with the Charter, there grew a feeling that the Council did not have any real moral authority or political clout.

That situation has changed now, and so has the General Assembly. It has changed from an arena of ideological conflict and propaganda to an important international forum where the intractable questions that interest mankind are thrashed out in a spirit of co-operation and with the purpose of finding practical solutions to such issues as disarmament, problems of socio-economics and the environment, and problems relating to the fight against drugs and terrorism, as well as problems of democratization and the consolidation of human rights without discrimination or narrow interpretation.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

Notwithstanding, and in the teeth of all such international changes, the most important and complex problems of humanity, namely, the world's economic problems and, more specifically, the problems besetting the developing and the least developed countries, continue to worsen from one day to the next. The economic gap between the rich countries and the poor countries, on the one hand, and between the industrialized countries and the developing countries, on the other, continues to widen in a mind-boggling manner that threatens millions of people with poverty, famine and deprivation of the most basic necessities of subsistence. It has also threatened the political stability of many States. These problems pose threats which may immerse our world in a catastrophic situation whose dimensions and effects on international peace and security cannot be imagined.

The situation has also changed with respect to the Security Council. We feel that we have reason for optimism when we see the beginning of the implementation of some of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council on Namibia, Central America, the Iran-Iraq conflict, Cambodia and Afghanistan. Yet, this positive picture remains incomplete as long as the Arab-Israeli conflict continues to be the only exception to the rule followed by the Security Council. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which constitute the framework for the political settlement in the Middle East, have not been affected by international changes up to this very moment, especially with the world having discovered the true ability of the Security Council to deal with matters which threaten international peace and security, and its ability to guarantee international commitment to its resolutions.

In this regard, the Republic of Yemen calls for a solution to the complex, chronic problems of interest to the Arab region, foremost among which is the question of the Palestinian Arab people, through the same perspective and through

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

the application of the same criteria which affirm the principles of inadmissibility inadmissibility of the occupation of territory by force, the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the occupied Arab and Palestininan territories, including Jerusalem, the Syrian Golan Heights and southern Lebananon, to ensure the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon and to establish the independent Palestinian State, as well as the adoption of immediate steps to halt Jewish immigration to the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories.

While Chapter VII of the Charter was like a jammed weapon, the world suddenly discovered the standing of the Security Council as an international authority that can impose its resolutions with many effective manners. In less than two months, the Security Council adopted nine decisive resolutions to face the most important crisis that erupted during this year in the Gulf region. If the United Nations is the mirror of our world, then what we see in it, whether in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, faithfully reflects the tremendous developments which have led the world from confrontation to co-operation and led to the collapse of all walls, be they physical like the Berlin Wall or mere psychological and ideological walls that used to divide the world. The criteria and the rules of the Charter of the United Nations have thus become dominant, and have taken precedence over all other criteria.

This generation is entitled to welcome the transition from one stage to another in international relations. All have contributed to this transition to varying degrees, and our people in Yemen has made its contribution on the national level in Yemen. The wall which had separated the two parts of the Yemeni homeland came down before the collapse of the Berlin Wall. Thus, our people has given expression to the spirit of our time, not only through the collapse of the psychological and political walls between the sons of the same homeland, but also

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

through the achievement of the dearest wish to the hearts of the Yemeni people, that is, the unity of the Yemeni homeland and the establishment of the Republic of Yemen, which were achieved on 22 May 1990. The establishment of Yemeni unity is, in itself, a great landmark in our contemporary history, yet the value of this historic development is all the greater in view of the manner in which it was achieved. It was achieved by peaceful means and on a solid democratic basis. Its main pillar is the Constitution of the unified State, which is the fruit of 20 years of constructive debate among the finest jurists, scientists, clergymen and other groups in Yemeni society. Thus, the Constitution of the unified State emphasizes the finest elements of the Shura heritage of Yemeni history and the totality of human experience in democratic rule. Therefore, with the establishment of a unified State, our people had two celebrations, to celebrate the restoration of the unity of the homeland and the establishment of the unified State and the inauguration of democratic practice enshrined in the Constitution, based on the rule of the people, respect for human dignity and the guarantee of equal political rights to all citizens of Yemen, men and women, the old and the young, without any discrimination. It guarantees the enjoyment by all the citizens of Yemen of all the principal freedoms, including the freedom of expression, the freedom of the press, the freedom to establish political parties and the freedom of political opposition, in addition to the separation of powers, the independence of the judiciary, regular elections for the change of Government and political and economic pluralism in an atmosphere of entente and the rule of law.

I would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks and appreciation to all the heads of delegations who have congratulated us on the achievement of Yemeni unity and the establishment of the Republic of Yemen.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

While the world was proceeding towards the definition of the new international order, after only three months of the establishment of the unified State of Yemen, the crisis in the Gulf erupted. It has confronted the Republic of Yemen, as well as the emerging international order with a difficult test that will determine the nature and development of the new international order and international relations.

The storming of the State of Kuwait by Iraqi troops on 2 August 1990 was at direct variance with the principles governing relations between States, such as the non-use of force for the settlement of disputes, the inadmissibility of the violation of the sovereignty of an independent State and the illegitimacy of the annexation of the territories of others by force.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

From the very first moment, the Republic of Yemen, due to its awareness of the gravity of the crisis, and by virtue of its adherence to Arab nationalism and its geographical importance on the Arab peninsula, the Gulf and the Red Sea, spared no effort in trying to contain the crisis between the two brotherly countries within an Arab framework and to search for a solution by peaceful, fraternal means.

We had hoped that those Arab efforts would result in a speedy solution to the crisis. But, most regrettably, other Powers moved in to derail any Arab attempt to solve the crisis and nip it in the bud. Heavy concentrations of foreign troops began to head towards the region, further complicating and escalating the crisis until it reached its current high degree of gravity, which threatens the security and stability of the region and jeopardizes international peace and security.

In a statement on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the revolution of 26 September, General Ali Abdulla Saleh, Chairman of the Presidential Council, reaffirmed our country's position. He said:

> "Our position vis-à-vis the crisis in the Gulf has been based on the need to respect the sovereignty and independence of all Arab countries, and on the inadmissability of occupying the territory of others or resorting to the use of force to solve problems. We have proceeded from the assumption that the principles governing relations between all States of the world must be equally respected and guaranteed between the countries of the Arab nation. That makes it necessary for problems between Arab countries to be resolved within the one Arab family. Therefore, we have insisted and will continue to insist that the peaceful solution acceptable to both parties must be an Arab one, without foreign intervention."

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

I should like to make the following points in summary of our view of the settlement of the Gulf crisis and the restoration of peace, security and stability there.

First, Yemen has not and will not approve the occupation of the land of others by force. It did not support Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Secondly, the Republic of Yemen will continue to search for an Arab solution to the crisis that takes into account the causes that led to it, and would lead to the withdrawal of Iraqi troops and guarantee the independence and sovereignty of Kuwait. Thirdly, the Republic of Yemen calls for allowing all foreign civilians in Iraq and Kuwait to leave the region. Fourthly, our country does not condone sending of foreign forces to the region and calls for their withdrawal. Fifthly, the Republic of Yemen reaffirms its commitment to Security Council resolution 661 (1990). It has supported Security Council resolution 670 (1990) as an expression of its support for a peaceful solution of the crisis between Iraq and Kuwait and in order to avert the option of war that is being advocated by certain Powers. War is an option fraught with dangers and destruction, and would lead to a veritable catastrophe that will do grave damage to the States and peoples of the region and spill over into other parts of the world.

While the Republic of Yemen reaffirms its adherence to the embargo against Iraq and Kuwait, it calls upon the international community to provide it with immediate compensation for the direct effects of its adherence to resolution 661 (1990). Those effects are estimated at no less $1,384 million through the loss of remittances by Yemen ex-patriates, in addition to the loss of 2.5 million tons of crude oil. There are also indirect effects that reflect on the performance of our national economy, as well as the grave difficulties faced by Yemen's balance of payments during this critical stage of our history.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

In conclusion, it must be recognized that the future of the new international order, which constitutes our hope for the future, is contingent upon the choice between war and peace in our region and throughout the world. If successive speakers have insisted on the need to opt for peace, our collective task is to promote a peaceful search for the desired results of restoring normalcy, security and stability to the region. To that end, we must adopt and develop all available positive initiatives, among which is that made by the President of France, Mr. Francois Mitterand.

It was an auspicious coincidence that Yemen should contribute to the transition towards a new international order at an important juncture of its history, culminating in the achievement of Yemen's unification by peaceful, democratic means. Yemen assures the international community that, through its membership in the Security Council, it will continue to work with the other members of the Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. To that end, Yemen will spare no effort in faithfully reflecting all questions of interest to Arab countries and peoples.

Mr. GOMBOSUREN (Mongolia) (interpretation from Russian): On behalf of the Mongolian delegation, I should like to offer Mr. De Marco our sincere congratulations on his unanimous election to the lofty post of President of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session and to wish him every success in the performance of his important duties. His election is a tribute to his personal qualities as an outstanding statesman of Malta, and also to the widely recognized and active contribution of his country to the work of the United Nations.

The Mongolian delegation also pays a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Garba of Nigeria, for his skilled guidance of the work of the forty-fourth regular session and the three special sessions of the General Assembly, which dealt with very important problems of our day.

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

We warmly congratulate the delegation of Liechtenstein on the admission of the Principality of Liechtenstein to the United Nations, and wish them every success in this noble work.

The work of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly has begun at a most significant period in history. The year drawing to a close has on the whole fostered the positive trends that have emerged of late. This year's historic events have made it a watershed. The cold war is over. A new era in international relations, based on the active, peaceful co-existence of States in conditions of interdependence, has begun. Following the United States-Soviet Union summit meeting in Malta, the global confrontation between those two countries has virtually given way to an enlightened partnership. The level of confidence and mutual understanding between East and West has been raised to new heights. Europe has made great strides towards unification. Positive results can be observed in the settlement of some regional conflicts. A constructive search is continuing in various areas of the disarmament process.

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

The role of the United Nations as a major instrument of peace, collective security and international co-operation is ever-expanding. Namibia has gained the independence for which it fought so long.

Despite these radical changes, we must however note the lack of tangible progress in resolving a number of global and regional problems such as underdevelopment, the external debt, ecological imbalance and the crisis in the Middle East among others. Moreover, a new and highly dangerous source of tension has emerged. In short, today's world is quite contradictory and an intensification of efforts to reinforce the positive trends and find optimal solutions to existing problems still remains an urgent task of the world community.

In Europe, the normalization of international relations on the regional level is continuing. Events of historic magnitude have taken place recently. The countries of Eastern Europe have taken a decisive step towards democratization and renewal of their societies. A united Germany has emerged. The Helsinki process is gaining new momentum. The Mongolian People's Republic welcomes the convening in Paris, in November, of the summit meeting of the countries participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We expect that one of its most important results will be the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of conventional armaments on the European continent.

The successful advancement of the all-European process and the changing nature of the relations between the two largest military and political groupings are bringing about an improvement in the overall political climate and are helping to prepare solid ground for new and concrete steps towards disarmament.

We are encouraged by the recent statements of the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States to the effect that they will put forth new efforts with a view to completing, as early as this year, the agreement on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments.

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

Mongolia would also like to see the early conclusion of the convention on banning chemical weapons.

The Mongolian delegation shares the concern over the lack of progress towards an agreement on the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. The strengthening of the non-proliferation régime and the cessation of the technological arms race are assuming ever greater importance. The Mongolian Republic believes that disarmament measures, including those relating to conversion, should be carried out in close conjunction with development efforts.

The Asia-Pacific region has been attracting increasing attention from the world community, especially of late. Though the development of events is quite complex, we view the general political situation in the region as positive. This is reflected, in particular, in the growing willingness of the countries of the region to engage in dialogue and co-operation, and in the increasing trust and mutual understanding among them. In other words, the times when ideological and other differences stood in the way of greater co-operation are fading away.

New and earnest steps are being taken to resolve some of the regional conflicts. Mongolia welcomes the steps taken towards a final settlement of the Cambodian conflict, namely, the agreement reached by the five permanent members of the Security Council on the framework for its settlement, the acceptance of relevant documents by the Cambodian parties, and the formation of the Supreme National Council of Cambodia. In this regard, the efforts made by the United Nations and all the countries concerned are highly commendable.

Certain encouraging signs can be discerned on the Korean peninsula as well. We are hopeful that the inter-Korean dialogue, launched at the level of Prime Ministers, will create favourable conditions for enhancing mutual confidence, reducing confrontation on the peninsula and attaining the ultimate objective of the reunification of Korea.

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

Mongolia continues to favour the earliest possible solution of the Afghan problem. An immediate end must be put to the continuing bloodshed in that country and international efforts to that end should be intensified. In our view, the policy of national reconciliation and unity pursued by the Afghan Government paves the way for the opening of the inter-Afghan dialogue.

To our great regret, the situation in another area of the Asian continent - the Middle East - has been seriously aggravated by Iraq's open aggression against Kuwait. Mongolia fully supports the measures taken by the Security Council and a number of States to restore justice and the rights of the Kuwaiti people, which have been trampled upon. We consider that this problem should be resolved exclusively by political means.

The current explosive situation in the Persian Gulf has again clearly shown the need for an early settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. A just and comprehensive settlement of this problem can be achieved only on the basis of the recognition of the rights of all the peoples and countries of the region to exist and the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

Apart from specific regional problems, there are a number of regional issues of common concern in Asia.

There is a great disparity in the level of the development of the countries of the region. The process of integration among them is uneven and is, to a great extent, underdeveloped. Many countries of the Asia-Pacific region suffer from economic backwardness and from ecological and other serious problems.

The existing problems and conflicts can be resolved, first, through joint efforts on the part of interested parties and States of the region. In our view, therefore, it is highly important for the countries of the Asia-Pacific region to

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

formulate their own pattern of interaction, while taking into account the positive experience of other regions. Here, we should like to express our support for the Soviet idea of holding a widely representative forum of Asian States.

The resolution of a specific problem would, apparently, call for a specific approach - a specific group of participants and so on. Meanwhile, it is important to have a general, constructive background based on mutual confidence and understanding on a regional scale and, in our view, this involves mutual confidence and understanding on a regional scale. This would call for a display of good will and the development of broad co-operation on both a regional and a subregional basis.

We therefore welcome the emergence of various regional structures for co-operation. It is important that they should be open-ended. The establishment last year of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation Organization with the participation of 12 States was, in our view, a very important step in the development of Asia-Pacific integration. Mongolia is most interested in participating in the activities of that Organization.

Believing in the importance of a regional approach to the solution of common problems, Mongolia last year made a proposal that, together, we should seek a mechanism for dialogue among the countries of the northern part of the Asia-Pacific region. I would emphasize here that we are not talking about the establishment of any kind of new organizational structure. We are merely suggesting the organization of periodic meetings of representatives of the countries of the subregion at various levels. Such meetings would help, in our view, to identify the problems existing in the region and would suggest ways and means of resolving them. We view the implementation of our idea in the context of other initiatives put forward by other countries of the region and we will be glad to co-operate with interested parties.

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

The proclamation of a new and independent Namibia has undoubtedly been one of the most important events of this year. This was a major achievement of the United Nations and of all democratic and anti-colonialist forces. It is symbolic that the elimination of the last major colonial stain on Earth coincides with the thirtieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which will be celebrated at this session of the General Assembly. We believe that this anniversary gives the entire international community a timely opportunity to sum up the activities of the United Nations on decolonization.

Positive changes are also taking place in South Africa itself. We hope that the negotiations between the South African authorities and the African National Congress of South Africa will lead to positive results and to the ultimate elimination of the system of apartheid and the creation of a new democratic, non-racial State in the southern part of Africa.

The Mongolian People's Republic shares the deep concern expressed in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization in regard to the difficult economic situation in the overwhelming majority of the developing countries.

We favour, above all, the intensification within the United Nations of a global dialogue on all the main components of world trade and economic relations. The convening this year of the special session of the General Assembly on economic issues and of the Second United Nations Conference on the Least-Developed Countries was of great importance.

In our opinion, the Declaration adopted at the special session and the global consensus reached thereby on ways and means of developing international economic co-operation lay the foundations for a constructive dialogue with a view to the solution of world economic problems, above all those problems confronting the

(Mr. Gombosuren, Mongolia)

developing countries. The International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade should greatly facilitate the solution of the problems outlined above.

One important task is the creation of an international environment for accelerating economic growth and securing the sustained development of the developing countries. In this context I should like to underline the importance of giving the developing countries broader access to the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

An early settlement in a spirit of justice and solidarity of the problems of external indebtedness and international trade would greatly help the developing countries to overcome the economic crisis. The Mongolian delegation shares the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report of the South Commission of the Group of 77.

The deterioration in the world ecological situation constitutes a serious international problem, one that requires close co-operation on both a global and a regional level. The Mongolian People's Republic hopes that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Brazil in 1992, will become an important landmark in the efforts of States to preserve the ecosystem of our planet.

Mongolia welcomes the outcome of the World Summit for Children held recently at the United Nations. In our country appropriate measures will be taken to translate into practical action the spirit and provisions of the World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children and its Plan of Action for the 1990s, as well as the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Mongolia today is experiencing a dynamic period of democratization in its political, economic and spiritual life. A multiparty system has been established and is functioning. The first democratic and free elections have been held. A

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permanently functioning parliament has been set up. The presidential form of government has been introduced. Freedom of the press is being ensured. The right to emigrate freely and the right to freedom of religion and the performance of religious rites are being guaranteed. Many lost traditions and customs are being revived.

In its economic policy my Government is placing primary emphasis on the social aspect. A programme is being drawn up for the transition to a market economy. The equality of various forms of property, including private property, will be guaranteed by law. An open economic policy is being pursued. A law has been adopted on foreign investment.

Mongolia has recently become a member of the Asian Development Bank. We are taking steps to join the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other international financial and economic institutions.

The country's foreign policy has been freed from ideological prejudices. A policy of non-alignment, a policy of maintaining friendly and equitable relations with any country, is being actively pursued. We advocate the principle of the non-deployment of troops and military bases on foreign territories. In accordance with a bilateral agreement, the withdrawal of the remaining part of Soviet troops from Mongolia will be completed by the summer of 1992.

We have undertaken the work of bringing our national legislation into conformity with our international obligations and of withdrawing reservations made earlier in regard to some multilateral treaties and conventions. I believe that this is in keeping with the task of ensuring the primacy of law and the objectives of the United Nations Decade of International Law proclaimed last year.

In conclusion, the Mongolian delegation expresses the hope that this forty-fifth session of the General Assembly will make its own contribution to the solution of the pressing issues of today and to the consolidation of positive

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trends in the world. We wish to pay a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his untiring efforts and outstanding public service in enhancing the peace-making role of our Organization. We wish him all further success.

Mr. KADRAT (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): The present statement was scheduled to be made before the General Assembly by the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country, Mr. Tariq Aziz. Unfortunately, Doctor Al-Anbari is feeling indisposed, which has prevented him from coming here to deliver this statement. He therefore charged me with making the statement on his behalf.

The present statement was scheduled to be made before the General Assembly by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of my country. As matters stand, however, he has been prevented from doing so by the position of the United States authorities, as explained in the letter dated 23 September 1990 addressed to the Secretary-General by my country's Minister of Foreign Affairs and circulated in document S/21812.*

As has been the case in past years, we requested the United States authorities to permit a special aeroplane carrying the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the members of the Iraqi delegation to land in New York. Those authorities, however, refused to grant our request and suggested the use of commercial airlines. This could only mean that the United States is in fact deliberately preventing the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country from coming to New York to participate in the proceedings of the General Assembly, present Iraq's point of view on the events and enter into dialogue with representatives of other States.

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* The President returned to the Chair.

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It is worth mentioning in this regard that, in spite of our contacts with the Secretary-General and the United Nations Secretariat and its contacts with the United States Mission on the matter, the Secretariat has done nothing to press the United States side to reverse the measures which have prevented the Foreign Minister from participation.

Having made this clarification, I shall now proceed to read the statement:

"Sir, it is a source of pleasure for me and my delegation to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly's present session. In this regard, I should like to assure you of our total willingness and sincere desire to co-operate with you to ensure the success of your task.

"My delegation expresses its congratulations to the delegation of Namibia, which is present at this session after the achievement by the struggling people of Namibia of its glorious victory against the racist Pretoria régime and the establishment of its newly independent State.

"We also welcome Liechtenstein as a new Member of the United Nations Iraq also salutes the German people on the recent achievement of its unity. This has special significance for Iraq, which believes in Arab unity and aspires to it. Proceeding from this, Iraq hails and offers its blessings to the achievement of the unity of brotherly Arab Yemen.

"The recent events which have taken place in the region have raised and continue to raise a number of vital issues which the international community, and the countries of the third world in particular, need to analyse deeply and draw the right conclusions from them. The reason is that these events and the way the United States and its Western allies have acted in relation to them indicate beyond any doubt that our world is entering a new era. Some would imagine that for the peoples of the world, and the peoples of the third world in particular, holds the promise of more favourable conditions than those

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which prevailed in the cold war era. However the bitter truth is that this new era is one of resurgence of Western imperialism under the leadership of the United States, at times with the tacit acquiescence of other great Powers and at others with their active participation.

"The Western imperialist alliance, under the leadership of the United States, is now orchestrating a large-scale disinformation campaign on a world level for which all the capabilities of the United States and Western political and information machinery - to say nothing of the military machine - have been pressed into service with a view to deluding the peoples of the world into believing that that alliance, whose history in dealing with the causes of the world's peoples is dark indeed, has turned today into a defender of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and a so-called international order.

"Regardless of any diversity of views on the Kuwait issue, we must not ignore the quintessential issues which the United States and its allies are doing their best to obfuscate and overshadow with disinformation. Those issues are the following:

"First, the United States and its allies are deliberately and arbitrarily trying to conceal the fact that the Kuwait issue has a history that has its roots in the colonialial past. In 1913, Britain took it upon herself to sever Kuwait from Iraq; the fact that all the successive Iraqi Governments over the past 70 years, regardless of whether they were monarchical or republican, have refused to accept that colonialist act. As a matter of fact, this question has been the subject of dispute in the Arab League and the United Nations in the 1960s. At the same time, the United States and its Western allies are deliberately concealing the developments and events which have led to the

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present situation and the fact that they started several months before 2 August 1990 with a large-scale campaign of conspiracy, defamation and siege against Iraq which included boycott measures that covered the stoppage of food exports to Iraq and embraced the scientific and technological fields.

"On 4 September 1990 I addressed to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the world a letter in which I explained the history of this question and those developments. Therefore, I shall refrain from touching on these matters here.

"Secondly, the events in question have taken place in the Arab region. This is a region which, for many decades, has had its own mechanisms and procedures for dealing with the problems which arise there. The events began on 2 August 1990. On 3 August, His Majesty King Hussein sought to convene, on 4 or 5 August, a mini summit meeting in Jedda, which was to be attended by Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Yemen and Jordan and was scheduled to deal with the problem within the framework of the usual Arab mechanisms and procedures. But the Arab party that was supposed to host the meeting, namely, Saudi Arabia, reneged on the meeting after having agreed to have it convened. Two days after the date scheduled for that meeting, United States forces landed in the Arabian Peninsula. That makes it clear enough that it was the United States which put the Arab mechanism out of action and decided to take control of the political situation itself. One day after its forces had landed in the Arab Peninsula, the United States had its henchmen in the region convene a meeting in Cairo not with the aim of considering and dealing with the question within the mechanisms and procedures by which Arab issues are normally resolved but with a view to obtaining its collaborators' support for the United States occupation and United States control over the political situation, a matter

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which led to a sharp division in the ranks of Arab Governments. Since then, sincere Arab parties have sought to restore the Arab mechanisms and procedures for dealing with this question, but the United States has suppressed and reviled such attempts; it has even threatened the leaders undertaking them and used the Security Council as a tool to frustrate any sincere Arab effort.

"Thirdly, this fact sheds light on what has taken place and continues to take place in the Security Council. From the very first day of the events, the United States has resorted to the convening of an emergency meeting of the Security Council and placed before the Council a resolution based on Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. For the first time in its history, the Security Council did not allow enough time for the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the State concerned in the issue to be able to participate in its deliberations; nor did the Council provide any opportunity for the participation of any Arab representatives who could make a responsible contribution to those deliberations. The United States called for the meeting at 4:45 New York time on the morning of 2 August; it submitted a draft resolution and insisted that it be adopted just hours after its submission; then it proceeded to build the subsequent political activity on the basis of that resolution though it knew full well that to have a resolution of that kind passed in such a hasty fashion would preclude all possibility of any serious and responsible search for suitable solutions to the issue, especially on the Arab side. It is especially regrettable that other international parties have yielded to this line of action which has blocked and continues to block the responsible approach to the issue. Resolution 660 (1990) is unprecedented in the history of the Security Council whether in terms of the hasty way in which it was passed and discussed or in terms of its direct leap to Chapter VII within the first hours of the occurrence of the events.

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"Fourthly, in a manner which has no precedent in the history of the United Nations, the United States and its Western allies had the Security Council pass a series of subsequent resolutions, each of which has had the effect of causing further exacerbation and escalation of the situation and of blocking every responsible effort to seek a solution. In addition to this deliberate political hysteria on their part, the United States and its allies proceeded following the events to mobilize their fleets, their aircraft and their ground forces in the region in a manner that has had no parallel in contemporary history, thus bringing the entire region - nay the entire world - to the brink of a devastating war.

"Fifthly, we have to ask, and to ask forcefully with the events of contemporary history in mind, are the United States and its Western allies taking this stand to defend international law and the Charter and the just rights of peoples? If the United States and its Western allies are, as they now claim, such firm upholders of principles why then have all the problems and crises in the world remained unsolved? Why do we come here every year to complain of the continued existence of those problems and crises? To whom have our complaints been addressed? Have they not been addressed to America and its allies whose actions and policies have been at the root of the problems and crises as well as of the proscratination in resolving them? Have not America and its allies been the ones who have used the veto to quash the resolutions we have submitted to the Security Council, thus providing a cover for the violations committed by their allies in Tel Aviv and Pretoria? Have they not been the ones who have treated with contempt the resolutions which, once in a while, we have succeeded in having adopted by the General Assembly where the third world States have a numerical majority?

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"Why have the questions of Palestine, the Middle East and Lebanon remained unsolved to this very day? What was the fate that overtook the Security Council resolutions on those questions, which have numbered, so far, 166 resolutions? Why does Israel continue to occupy Arab territories and why has it had the temerity to declare that they are 'part of the land of Israel'? Why has Israel been able to call the West Bank Judea and Samaria and declare that occupied Al-Quds is its eternal capital? Why has all this been possible under the very eyes of those who have shown firm resolve to have Security Council resolutions implemented - only after the Council adopted its well-known resolutions following the events of 2 August 1990?

"The record of the United Nations is replete with condemnations of the policy of the United States. We all know the stand taken by the United States and its allies, especially Britain, towards such issues as independence, racial discrimination, coequal economic relations and the many other issues which every year are presented here in the General Assembly only to be opposed by every possible means by the representatives of America and the West, thus hindering our sincere efforts to have them resolved in accordance with international law, the United Nations Charter and the criteria of justice and equity.

"The United States has used the veto 81 times to stop the adoption of Security Council resolutions which, in the majority of cases, dealt with the rights of the Palestinian people, Israeli aggressions against the Palestinian people and neighbouring Arab States, together with resolutions on South Africa. This year alone, the United States has used the right of veto seven times to oppose draft resolutions on the question of Palestine.

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"Furthermore, the resolutions which the Security Council has been able to adopt on the questions of Palestine, the Middle East and Lebanon, and in which it calls for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Palestinian and Arab territories it occupies, have not been implemented to this very day. The same is true of 44 resolutions on Lebanon adopted since 1978. Israel has continued to occupy South Lebanon since 1982.

"The General Assembly, for its part, has adopted over 400 resolutions on the question of Palestine and the Middle East. The majority of those resolutions have been opposed by the United States. The resolutions, especially those which called for enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable rights, have not been implemented because, alone among the peoples of the world, the Palestinian people is denied recognition of its right to self-determination by the United States and Israel.

"To this number must be added the many other resolutions on the rights of the Palestinian people and the question of the Middle East passed by the specialized agencies - resolutions which Israel has ignored just as it has ignored Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, relying on United States opposition to them. We would mention in particular the resolutions adopted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization.

"We are witnessing in this particular period a new campaign of settler colonialism taking the form of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries for the purpose of perpetuating the Zionist occupation of Palestinian and other Arab territories and establishing the so-called greater Israel. The States which are sponsoring this campaign on

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the pretext of defending human rights and the right to emigrate, refuse at the same time to allow the Palestinian people to exercise those very rights and the right to return to its homeland in spite of the numerous resolutions in which the United Nations, since 1948, has recognized the right of return and which have remained unimplemented to this very day. Now the Zionist emigration operation is being carried out at the expense of this Palestinian right and with a view to squeezing those Palestinians who have remained out of their land.

"We Arabs, and we the peoples of the world, must not draw the wrong conclusions. The United States and its Western allies, who are raising such a hue and cry in connection with the recent resolutions which they have dictated in the Security Council, are not now experiencing a belated awakening of conscience. On the contrary, they are rushing the world, on a tidal wave of one of the most dangerous and pernicious campaigns of disinformation in history, into a new imperialistic era. In this they are taking advantage of the disruption of the international balance which followed the events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There is now a rush to put that new imperialistic order in place and consolidate its foundation before the peoples of the world wake up, recover from the stunning blow and start looking for ways that would enable them to restore the balance in such a manner as to protect their independence and make it possible to base relations on a certain degree of justice.

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"The rulers of the United States and its Western allies are neither defenders of international law nor upholders of the Charter. Just exactly as the United States President, George Bush, has stated, they are defenders of the capitalist monetary system, of which the investments by the former Kuwaiti régime, amounting to over $200 billion, constitute one of the principal props. They are seeking to gain control over the oil reserves in the Gulf so as to have a free hand in manipulating the needs of the world, and especially the needs of the peoples of the third world, for this important commodity. The United States is seeking, in a dangerously coercive vein, to impose its leadership on the world. This intention was disclosed by President George Bush in his speech before Congress on 11 September 1990, when he said that the American objectives in the Gulf were clear, and American goals were well-defined and well-known. America and the world, he said, must defend common vital interests, and in pursuit of these goals the United States should fear nothing. He emphasized that the involvement of the United States predated the events and would survive them. That is why the United States is raising artificial fears about Iraqi control of 20 per cent of the oil reserves while it and its Western allies were quite happy when those reserves were under the control of a handful of sheikhs.

"The real reason for this operation to excite fear is that Iraq, although it is an oil-producing country, considers itself, both in fact and in principle, a third-world country, a country that shares the feelings of other third-world countries, stands in solidarity with them and upholds their causes. In the 1970s, before the war with Iran, Iraq had given more than $9 billion in aid to various countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

"That, then, is the reason. They are out to fight against the control by an independent country over its national wealth, of which it was robbed by

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force and conspiracy in the days of colonialism. They are dead set against the investment of such wealth in sound self-reconstruction. Their aim is to ensure that that independent country should not become an active party in extending selfless, disinterested assistance to its brother Arab and third-world States as it did up to 1979.

"When, on 10 September 1990, Iraq announced that it was prepared to supply oil, free of charge, to third-world countries, the United States and its allies mobilized their political and military machine to intimidate those countries and make transportation of the oil impossible. Now those countries are compelled to pay twice the price they paid just a few weeks ago. On the other hand, the United States, which until a few weeks ago resisted normal and balanced increases in the price of oil in response to supply and demand, is now intent on keeping the price high, because it is now blackmailing its oil-producing allies into using the earnings accruing from the higher prices to cover the heavy financial costs of its military build-up against Iraq.

"We must fully ponder the generosity shown by the United States, the other major capitalist countries and the capitalist Arab countries in defraying the expense of the military build-up against Iraq. In the course of a few weeks, some $20 billion has been amassed for that campaign. When did these countries ever show such generosity and raise even a few million dollars to provide relief to those who die of hunger in Africa, to the millions of refugees from the wars in Afghanistan and Cambodia, or to the Palestinian refugees who have been and continue to be expelled by Israel from their own land?

"When did these countries ever show such generosity in dealing with the problems of indebtedness that are crushing third-world peoples in Latin

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America, Africa and Asia? When did these countries ever show any generosity at all in helping countries in the Middle East region that are suffering crippling economic crises? One of those countries, a country which has enlisted in the ranks of the American campaign, has hundreds of thousands of citizens who actually live in cemetries in the absence of any realistic hope of finding any kind of housing.

"The United States is not doing what it is doing for the sake of the Charter, international law or the rights of peoples. The United States and its Western allies are seeking, through this military, political and information campaign, to gain control over the oil-fields and to impose their imperialist political, economic and military hegemony over the world, especially over the countries of the third-world.

"Therefore, the countries of the third-world should be on their guard against being carried away by the disinformation campaign now being orchestrated by American and Western imperialism. The countries of the third world should take cognizance of the quintessential facts of the situation and should look after their own very real interests. Should any of them have their own views on the subject of Kuwait, they would be well advised to avoid taking hasty positions before acquainting themselves with the facts as they really exist on the ground and should not confuse their own motives with the ulterior motives of America and its allies. America and its allies are only seeking to provide a cover with their disinformation campaign for the imperialist aims which lie behind their military occupation of the Gulf and of the Arabian Peninsula.

"From all this, there clearly emerges a basic fact that cannot be ignored - namely, that in the Middle East region there are so many bitter and complex issues that it would be practically impossible to give preference to

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one over the other. The whole region is seething with anger and teeming with explosive problems. Such was the case before August 1990. What used to be said from this rostrum by the representatives of the States in the region confirms this fact. Therefore, if the five permanent members of the Security Council, and the Security Council as a whole, are really interested in upholding the Charter and international law and are really earnest in wishing to establish peace and justice in the region, the way to such goals is well known. On 12 August 1990 President Saddam Hussein proposed that all the issues of the region - Palestine, Lebanon, the Gulf, and others - should be considered on an equal footing; that the Security Council should seek to establish common principles and criteria to deal with these issues; and that these principles and criteria should be applied in dealing with all the issues of the region, with due attention to the particularities and backgrounds of each issue. In this way, it would be possible to achieve real justice and peace, resolve the difficult problems of the region, and make the people there feel that they can have peace and can look forward to a future.

"A number of countries have shown interest in these ideas, but the United States and Britain have sought to suppress any tendency to give them consideration. This indicates bad faith and an unwillingness to deal with the issues of the region on an equitable basis. It even amounts to a reaffirmation of the insistence of the United States and its allies in dealing with the issues of the region and of the world with double standards.

"The free countries of the world that really believe in the Charter and in international law, and are sincerely interested in peace, are under an obligation to press unremittingly for a comprehensive and just solution to all the issues of the region."

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. UMER (Pakistan): The international community has yet again been subjected to a vicious tirade of slander by the representative of the Kabul régime. In a statement earlier this afternoon the Kabul representative made the oft-repeated allegations against my country. These wild allegations are nothing but fabrications and distortions which bear no relationship to reality. They represent yet another attempt by a discredited régime to try to malign Pakistan and shift attention from its total failure to win acceptance from the people of Afghanistan. We categorically and totally reject these accusations.

Pakistan is fully conscious of its responsibilities under the Geneva Agreements which it continues to implement scrupulously and faithfully. The United Nations good offices mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan during its tenure found no evidence whatsoever that arms and ammunition were being transported to Afghanistan from Pakistan. Furthermore, no training camps were found on our territory. Neither has any evidence been produced of violations of Afghan territory or airspace.

On the other hand there have been numerous violations of Pakistan's territory. Since the signing of the Geneva Agreements there have been hundreds of incidents of air and ground violations, Scud missile attacks and acts of sabotage resulting in the killing of more than 250 innocent civilians and injuries to more than 500 others. Evidence of these attacks is available in the debris of Afghan military aircraft and of the Scud missiles on our soil.

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

The régime continues to terrorize its own people. Air bombardments of Afghan villages have intensified and they also been made the targets of over 1,000 Scud missiles. These deadly weapons are sheer instruments of terror as they have no military significance in a guerrilla situation. The charge that Pakistani troops are aiding the Mujahideen is preposterous. The brave Afghan people, who have successfully overcome foreign intervention for centuries, do not need Pakistan's assistance for the final phase of their heroic struggle for self-determination.

Pakistan was also accused of preventing the return of the refugees. Nothing could be further from the truth. The more than 5 million refugees are refusing to return to Afghanistan under a régime which was instrumental in the deaths of 1.5 million Afghans and the unprecedented destruction of their country's economic, social and cultural infrastructure. The intensification of the acts of terror by the Kabul régime through continued bombing and rocketing of defenceless towns and villages is indeed a strange inducement for the refugees to return. In fact, the exodus of refugees to Pakistan increased at the beginning of this year. That has been verified by the international agencies working in the field.

The Kabul representative also referred to the military circles in Pakistan and, to quote him, the "sabotage of the democratic will of the people of Pakistan". I should like to remind the Kabul representative that a civilian Government, fully in accordance with our Constitution, is functioning in Pakistan and national elections are scheduled to be held on 24 October.

But what we found most repugnant is that the practitioners of the most hideous form of tyranny and massive abuse of human rights should mount the podium of this august Hall to preach the gospel of democracy and human dignity. We are confident that such crass duplicity will be treated with the contempt it deserves by the international community.

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

The so-called peace proposals referred to by the Kabul representative in his statement are self-serving inasmuch as their sole purpose is to prolong the life of the régime. These proposals have been categorically rejected by the Afghan Mujahideen. International opinion cannot be manipulated through sheer repetition of bankrupt and self-seeking proposals presented under the garb of reason.

The Kabul representative also made certain baseless allegations of Pakistan's involvement in illicit drug trafficking. On the contrary, there is an overwhelming body of evidence to prove widespread poppy cultivation inside Afghanistan and its refinement into heroin. According to the reports of various international agencies the net opium production in Afghanistan was 400 metric tons in 1987. It rose to 1,000 metric tons in 1988 and indications are that it will reach the astronomical figure of 1,500 metric tons for the past year. This unambiguously demonstrates the neglect, if not the connivance, of the Kabul régime in this despicable trade.

My delegation categorically rejects as baseless the allegations of Pakistan's interference in occupied Kashmir and Indian Punjab. Reference to the tragic situation in Kashmir was particularly regrettable but it came as no surprise to my delegation. Kabul's stand in regard to the struggle of the people of Kashmir for self-determination is entirely consonant with the régime's past record and its character. A régime which has put more than a million of its own people to the sword and driven more than 5 million people into exile could not have been expected to adopt a principled position on this issue. A régime which has denied the right of self-determination to the 15 million people of Afghanistan could not have been expected to uphold the right of self-determination of the Kashmiri people.

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

The fundamental cause of the tragic continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan is the refusal of the régime in Kabul to accept the reality of the situation. This régime is unacceptable to any segment of the Afghan nation except the coterie of party hardliners. The fact remains that no responsible or representative segment of the Afghan political spectrum is prepared to enter into a political dialogue with it.

Peace and stability in Afghanistan can be restored only if power is transferred from this régime to a broad-based government acceptable to the Afghan people. Resolution 44/15, adopted by consensus by the General Assembly last year, called for the establishment of such a government. This is the exclusive prerogative of the people of Afghanistan.

Pakistan has consistently supported the right of the Afghan people to determine their own future free from outside intervention, interference, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever. Our commitment to this principle is unflinching and abiding.

Mr. RAZZOOQI (Kuwait) (interpretation from Arabic): There is no falsification of facts that can match what we have heard from the representative of the dictator Saddam Hussein. What we have heard at this session of the General Assembly ignores all covenants and principles. Is this reasonable, while we live in a civilized world and are about to enter the twenty-first century governed by human and civilized relations that have accumulated and developed over hundreds of years of civilized human development and the promotion of humanity in dealing with each other? How can we see with our eyes the deterioration in those relations only to be replaced by primitive and barbaric policies based on the law of the jungle instead of the Charter of the United Nations.

(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq created a grave problem in international relations, because it violated all international norms and rules. It is a setback in human development. The practices of this régime are in defiance of humanity and a shame of humanity and its presence in the United Nations, where relations are based on the principles of the Charter, is a great affront to the international Organization. There is no place in this House except for those whose behaviour is consonant with culture and civilization.

The political history of Kuwait and the political history of Iraq are well-known and documented here in the United Nations. The people of Kuwait elected Sheikh Alsabah I in 1756 as the first Emir. That was before the emergence of modern Iraq at the beginning of this century and when Iraq at that time was under Ottoman rule. There was an Ottoman ruler of the province called Iraq. Kuwait felt some problems arising from the Ottoman Empire at the end of the nineteenth century. That is why Kuwait, in 1899, signed a treaty with Britain. We really do not know how we became severed from Iraq at a time when we were there for centuries before Iraq emerged as a nation. Agreements were signed, notably one in 1913. This is the Anglo-Turkish Treaty which demarcates the international borders between Kuwait and the Ottoman State. At that time, there was no political entity called Iraq. In 1932, another agreement was signed with the then Prime Minister of Iraq, Nouri Alsaeed.

Another agreement was signed in 1963 with Iraq, which stipulates the recognition by Iraq and the independence of Kuwait, its sovereignty and its independence within its internationally recognized borders, in accordance with the 1932 agreement. That agreement was signed on behalf of Iraq by the former President of Iraq, when Saddam Hussein was his Vice-President. What happened to these agreements signed with the Ottoman State and with the subsequent Iraqi régimes? A barbaric and brutal attack and brutal occupation of my country, Kuwait.

(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

In this way, Kuwait respects international agreements and law. Kuwait is a member of this international Organization. Its relations with all States, and not only Iraq, are governed by treaties and international conventions - the most important of which is our full commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. All of us know the Charter and its principles. The Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein, refused and rejected all those norms and principles and also ignored all international relations based on international law.

The occupation of Kuwait by Iraq and the fact that the invading Iraqi forces have carried out inhuman practices against the Kuwaiti people and attempted to blot out its national identity and uproot the Kuwaiti people - this is a concept that the Iraqi dictator believes in as a basis for international relations between peoples.

We realize now, together with all the peoples of the world, that the régime of the dictator Saddam Hussein is learning lessons these days that it will never forget about how to respect international law, principles and morals through the honourable positions and unanimous positions taken by the international community in support of justice and of the rights of all countries and all peoples, whether small or large. This has been set forth in the resolutions of the Security Council - resolutions that are unprecedented since the establishment of the United Nations after the Second World War and that affirm and confirm international legitimacy and respect for international order and international law.

What is this falsification of facts? When we speak about the presence of the friendly forces in the region and the forces of sister nations - by raising such questions and concentrating only on those matters, the Iraqi régime has merely attempted to divert the world's attention from the fundamental question, which is its invasion of Kuwait.

(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

The fundamental issue is the Iraqi occupation of my country, Kuwait. The countries of the region, including Kuwait, have every right to take all necessary measures in self-defence and with a view to liberating the occupied homeland. The provisions of the Charter are very clear: article 51 of the Charter states that:

> "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations ...".

The Iraqi regime occupied Kuwait, killed thousands, displaced millions of refugees, violated the sanctuaries, looted all the possessions of the State, private and public, and amassed, throughout Kuwait and close to the borders of Saudi Arabia, about 500,000 Iraqi soldiers in addition to thousands of tanks and missiles. Does not Kuwait and its brethren in the region have the right to face up to the Iraqi forces? Do we not have the right to self-defence, and the right to seek help from whoever is willing to provide it in order to defend ourselves? It is a legitimate right, and it is set out in the Charter.

History is not written in falsehoods. History is written in facts, and the fact is that we live to defend our cherished homeland with the help of the most important position adopted by the international community.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): It is regrettable that we should hear a statement such as that delivered by the representative of Iraq. It is all the more regrettable to have to spend time replying to that statement. The statement by the Iraqi representative, a statement which was from its beginning to its end built on falsehoods, began by acclaiming the unity between the Germanys and between the Yemens. We indeed congratulate both new countries. However, let us recall how unity was achieved between the two Germanys and the two Yemens.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

The Iraqi representative attempted to draw a comparison between German and Yemeni unity and the swallowing up of Kuwait by Iraq. Let German and Yemeni unity be a lesson to them, let them learn how people unite, and how unity can be genuine unity, not a unity achieved through the swallowing up of other countries by pillage, invasion and occupation.

Perhaps the Iraqi representative was not aware that he was saying something which countradicted history when he stated that his régime had come to realize that the world is on the threshold of a new age, the age of reborn imperialism. It seems that the Iraqi régime is so convinced that there is a new age, a rebirth of imperialism, that it believes that the minor imperialists must have a role to play in this new era and a share at the table of colonialism. Perhaps that is why the Iraqi régime invaded friendly Kuwait, Kuwait which had considered Iraq and its army a source of support, Kuwait which had paid in assets, paid part of its income, to build an army for Iraq. It seems that Kuwait was feeding a snake, a snake which would swallow up its neighbours.

The Iraqi representative's statement was false. The Iraqi régime even tries to distort geography. However, if God wills, it will fail in its mission, and Kuwait will be returned to the people to whom it legitimately belongs. The Iraqi representative mentioned meetings which had taken place within the Arab framework before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. However, he did not refer to the destructive role Iraq played in those meetings or to Iraq's attempts to abort those meetings, particularly the Jeddah meeting between Iraqi and Kuwaiti representatives. He did not mention the fact that the Arab summit conference had condemned Iraq, had condemned its barbaric act, the invasion of Kuwait. Nor did he mention the meetings of the Islamic Conference, which also condemned Iraq and its acts against Kuwait.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

The representative of Iraq also wanted to disparage the role of the Security Council of the United Nations. This is not new. He said that resolution 660 was unprecedented in the history of the Council. That is true. It is true because Iraq's crime has no precedent in the history of the Security Council. He said that the Security Council had, in a way unprecedented in the history of the United Nations, adopted a series of resolutions. Yes, it adopted such a series of resolutions, not because the United States or any other State compelled it to do so, but because no State could compel the Council to do so unless there were a genuine reasons for so doing. That reason was that Iraq has perpetrated an unforgiveable crime, a crime that has entered the annals of crime.

It seems that the Iraqi régime has not read the Charter of the United Nations, a Charter it claims to be committed to. It had not read about the sovereign right of States which are threatened. The Iraqi régime seems not aware that every State has the right to defend itself, individually, or collectively with its friends and brethren. This is what we have done within the Gulf Co-operation Council.

The Iraqi representative wonders why the questions of Palestine and Lebanon remain without solution. I say to him, that a major reason why these questions are unresolved is the very presence of regimes like his, which have exploited the Palestinian cause and used it as a bargaining chip in their manoeuvres. That has had the most dire results for the question of Palestine, as has Iraq's latest adventure, in Kuwait.

The Iraqi representative wonders how it was that we were so generous in inviting the multilateral forces to the Arab Peninsula, to pre-empt Iraqi aggression. We would ask him whether there was any mention of generosity when we were backing up Iraq and helping it in its crisis, when Saddam Hussein's régime was at the brink of collapse? We ask him whether or not he has read the statistics

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

which show that ninety-nine per cent of the assistance paid in the world is paid by the countries making up the multilateral forces and other forces supporting them in the Arab Peninsula. Perhaps then he may become aware of the pact of truth. Perhaps he may be shamed in the future when he speaks before such an august Assembly. Perhaps he may refrain from falsehoods in the future.

Mr. ROSHAN-RAWAAN (Afghanistan): I have not asked to be called upon at this late hour to join in rhetoric with the representative of the military circles of Pakistan. I shall also refuse to descend to the level of using the kind of language and vocabulary that we heard this afternoon from the same representative. However, the record must be put straight.

It was amazing to me to hear once again from the representative of the military circles of Pakistan that there are no military training camps, no bases on the territory of that country from which interference in and intervention against my country is taking place. If that is the case, why is it that this armed interference is not continuing anywhere else in my country except in Asian Afghanistan bordering on Pakistan and that there is no fighting in all the other provinces in my country? If he is right - and I would like him to answer - then where do all these rockets come from that are being fired on cities, including Kabul and that are killing innocent civilians? They have not hit military targets, they are killing civilians - women, children and pedlars.

It is too late for the military circles of Pakistan to hide the very fact that they are violating, indeed flagrantly violating, all the provisions of the first Geneva accord on non-interference and non-intervention. It is too late; the whole world knows, so I do not want to expound on that. But one thing is very important. We are tired of hearing, time and again, from these representatives of the military circles of Pakistan, about the question of the self-determination of peoples. Frankly, the military circles of Pakistan which, since the very birth of Pakistan, have been sabotaging the democratic will of the people of Pakistan, do not have the right to preach the values of self-determination to others. Recently there was a behind-the-scenes coup by these very military circles against the legal Government of Benazir Bhutto; and we all know about that.

(Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

The Assembly may recall that, in my statement before the General Assembly at its special session, I informed this forum that, although elections had taken place in Pakistan, it did not mean that democracy prevailed there. The military has not yet returned to their barracks. It is holding all the strings. Recent developments in Pakistan, and the dismissal of the legal Government, have borne out my words.

We are all in favour of the self-determination of our people. Let us alone; let us organize elections; let us vote; let the people of Afghanistan express their will and desire by voting democratically and freely the way they want.

Secondly, it is very difficult to hear from the representative of the military circles of Pakistan that the people of Afghanistan are not ready for peace and reconciliation, that they are not capable of dialogue. As an Afghan, I will not accept that. My country has been the cradle of a very great civilization in our region, and I am proud to say that its people have spread civilization to the neighbouring areas, including Pakistan. Those people are certainly capable of dialogue.

We Afghans are poor. We are among the least developed economically. Some of us are now refugees in other countries. But we are certainly not ignorant people; we are not savages; we are not trigger-happy. In fact, there is a saying in my language, "Prove me guilty by argument, and kill me." Such is the tradition that is in our veins. We are a people of dialogue, of argument, of talk. It is only outside interference, now mainly from Pakistan, that is preventing Afghans from coming together and engaging in dialogue.

In conclusion, I should like to make two very important points. The first is that we have been hearing statements from Heads of State and Government, Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Heads of delegations during these past two weeks. Every speaker has been in favour of co-operation, of forgetting the past, of finding new

(Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

solutions to problems and of solving regional problems. Pakistan alone stands against this trend in the world. With regard even to Afghanistan - and we appreciate this fact - numerous delegations expressed concern about the continuation of bloodshed there; numerous delegations expressed the hope that peace would come there; they supported a political settlement. Only Pakistan now stands in the way.

The second point is that, when we signed the Geneva agreements, we expressed to many our doubts about the sincerity and goodwill of Pakistan, although it, too, signed the agreements. And yes, immediately after the completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan came the tragedy of Jalalabad - Afghans killing Afghans. This was the word of Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI), according to the Pakistani press itself. Therefore, at the present time, when a consensus is emerging internationally for a political settlement of the Afghan question, once again, my dear colleagues, I warn you that Pakistan lacks the sincerity and goodwill to co-operate. I hope the community of nations, the General Assembly, will make every effort not to allow Pakistan once again to sabotage the Geneva agreements, again to sabotage the international consensus which is emerging for a political solution to the question of Afghanistan, and to allow the people of Afghanistan to engage in dialogue and to solve their problems through understanding and dialogue.

Mr. JAIN (India): My delegation notes with regret the manner in which the delegation of Pakistan has, once again, tried to inject a reference to the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. India's position is principled, well-known and needs no repetition. Self-determination does not apply to integral parts of sovereign States. Notwithstanding Pakistan's strenuous denials, the crux of the problem is Pakistan's incitement to terrorism and subversion in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, which amounts to interference in our internal affairs.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): The representative of Iraq has just abused us all with a caricature of history, a distortion of the Charter obligations that we all share as Members of the United Nations, and a deliberate misrepresentation of the policies of other Member States, including my own. Others have already spoken to clear away many of the deceptions offered to us as facts. I will limit myself to slanders he uttered against the policies of the United States.

The Iraqi representative made a spurious claim regarding the refusal by the United States of permission for the travel here of the Iraqi Foreign Minister. The United States did not refuse permission for the Minister and he could easily have come here on any of the many scores of convenient daily commercial flights to and from Europe and the Middle East. The United States did refuse permission for a special Iraqi flight to land in New York. It is incongruous, to say the least, for the Iraqi Government, which holds thousands of foreign nationals hostage in Iraq, denying their right to leave the country by any means - let alone private aircraft - to complain about the inability of my Government to permit such a special flight. The Minister's failure to attend the General Assembly obviously derives from other motives.

As President Bush stated here on 1 October, the United States has never been more proud of the actions taken by the Security Council and the support given those decisions by Member States, excepting Iraq. No one here, not even the representative of Iraq, can doubt that his Government has pitted itself in an unjust cause against the principles of international relations enshrined in the Charter and against the policy of its Members. As has been dramatically evident in the course of the general debate, this is a conflict not between my country and Iraq, but between Iraq and all other Members of the Organization. To charge that the Security Council has been manipulated by my Government is a serious insult to

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

the other members of the Council. To repeat that misleading accusation is also an insult to the Iraqi people, who deserve to be told no more lies.

As President Bush, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and other speakers have emphasized, the world community is seeking to build a new order, fulfilling the original hopes of the founders of the United Nations. Together we are looking forward to a world in which international differences will not be addressed by force. But Iraq's behaviour, a relic from a violent past we hope to escape, threatens that new order in the most profound way.

United States forces, along with those of over a score of other nations, were deployed to the region to deter further Iraqi aggression. That deployment, taken in response to requests from threatened Governments in the region and in full accord with Article 51 of the Charter, is serving its purpose. My Government has made clear that its forces will not remain in the region one day longer than necessary.

The Iraqi representative made a particular effort to distort the record of the Security Council and the United States on the Arab-Israeli conflict. For 23 years, the bedrock for all serious efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East has been Security Council resolution 242 (1967). No Government has a proven record of commitment to implementing that resolution more convincing than that of the United States. Representatives here need not be reminded of the circumstances that led to the adoption of resolution 242 (1967). But given the charges levelled here today, let me recall its main elements.

Resolution 242 (1967) affirms that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should include the application of two principles: the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; and termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

The resolution also affirms the need for guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways; for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem; and for guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones.

The resolution provides for a negotiated solution. From the date of its adoption until now, my Government has been continuously involved in the efforts to find that solution. We have seen successes in that process, notably at Camp David. Regrettably, we have experienced setbacks, but never has our determination to achieve its implementation slackened.

The representative of Iraq suggested, erroneously, that the United States has applied different conceptions of its Charter obligations in the case of Iraq's unprovoked invasion and annexation of Kuwait. Nothing could be further from the truth. When the Security Council acted to adopt resolution 660 (1990), it acted in full knowledge of the essential facts. Resolution 660 (1990) condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and demanded that Iraq withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its forces to the positions in which they were located on 1 August 1990. It called upon Iraq and Kuwait to begin immediately intensive negotiations for the resolution of their differences and supported all efforts in this regard, especially those of the League of Arab States. The record of the United States in supporting that resolution is clear.

What about the record of Iraq? Rather than withdraw, Iraqi forces dug in. Iraq then announced the annexation of Kuwait, a country with which it had maintained friendly relations. Iraq's brazen effrontery led it to violate other important rules of international law. It detained and now holds hostage thousands

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

of foreign nationals, placing them as human shields at strategic sites in Iraq. It violated the immunity of diplomats and broke into the French diplomatic premises in Kuwait. It has denied food to tens of thousands of foreign workers, in itself a form of racial discrimination. In violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, it has looted and pillaged in Kuwait, denied the national identity of its citizens, and tortured some of those who would even think about resisting. Those outrages are unparalleled, and they will be remembered.

Iraq is an outlaw. It violated the most basic Charter obligations, even to the extreme point of aggression aiming to extinguish the existence of a friendly but peaceful neighbouring State. If the response of the Security Council has been without precedent, so too have been the actions and crimes of Iraq.

One message that has resounded throughout this debate is clear. Iraq has rent the fabric of the international order by its invasion of Kuwait. Its crime has been compounded and prolonged by intransigence. Iraq should get out of Kuwait and it should get out now.

The Iraqi representative came here to speak. But he can also hear and read and write. I hope for the sake of the people of Iraq and Kuwait that he understands the message of this debate - a message propounded by virtually every speaker for the last two weeks - and that he reports that message carefully to his master in Baghdad.

Mr. UMER (Pakistan): We have heard the statement in exercise of the right of reply by the representative of the Kabul régime. It was a repetition and a re-hash of the same litany of distortions and propagandist observations which constituted the centre-piece of his statement here earlier this afternoon.

In its first right of reply, my delegation categorically rejected those allegations and therefore we feel no necessity to impinge upon the valuable time of the Assembly by repeating our earlier position.

I would like also to make a brief reference to what was just stated by the representative of India. My delegation would like briefly to make three points in regard to his intervention.

He said Kashmir was an integral part of India. It never has been, never was, and is not an integral part of India. It is a disputed territory whose future is to be determined through a plebiscite under United Nations supervision. This position is recognized by the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. This position is recognized in the Simla agreement of 1972, and this position was reaffirmed by the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in August in Cairo and, subsequently, in New York as recently as 1 October, just a few days ago.

Regarding the allegation that terrorism is being sponsored by Pakistan, I should like to invite the attention of the Indian representative to a news report in today's New York Times:

> "At his home in a quiet residential neighbourhood patrolled by troops in combat uniforms, Mufti Bahauddin Farooqi, a former Chief Justice of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court, said 'half a generation' had been destroyed by Indian military swoops. Thousands of young people have been detained, hundreds of all ages killed and whole neighbourhoods and villages torched by troops.
>
> ...

(Mr. Umer, Pakistan)

"'They are going around like vultures jumping on the 13-30 age group,' Mr. Farooqi said."

This should indicate very clearly how, by whom and where terrorism is being practised.

The Indian representative also alleged that Pakistan was interfering in Kashmir. We have rejected this oft-repeated allegation many times before, but in this connection I would like to refer to the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan on 28 September in the General Assembly when he invited India to consider Pakistan's proposal to station neutral observers along the line of control to monitor the border and to make an independent judgement as to whether any kind of interference is taking place from the Pakistani side. Unfortunately this proposal has been rejected by India.

Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): We regret the assessment contained in the statement of the representative of Iraq of actions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. We categorically reject that assessment since we are convinced that the decision of the Security Council represents not only the will of the Council but also - and this has been amply demonstrated at this session - the will of the international community, the will of all Members of this Organization

I think we cannot but feel some satisfaction at the unprecedented unity in the Security Council and the clear evaluation given in the discussions on Iraq, which we think show that the United Nations can deal with this highly dangerous crisis as a new international order is being formed on the basis of the primacy of international law. It is the duty of each Member of the United Nations to heed the voice of this Organization and to draw practical conclusions with regard to its policies.

Mr. MOHAMMED (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): The American representative, who has been accustomed to speak under the influence of delusions of grandeur, cannot stand facts on their heads.

The imperialistic policy of the United States and its allies does not have an honourable history in its dealings with the peoples of the world and, particularly, the peoples of the third world. It is a long bloody history of dirty crimes that spans Viet Nam, Africa, Asia, Grenada, the Arab world and Panama.

History keeps a record of these bloody deeds. The future will point the finger at new crimes. This is the nature of the policy of imperialistic aggression. These are its traits in our region:

First, the United States, with surprising speed, deployed military forces to occupy the Arab peninsula and its waters. This it has done of its own accord and it will remain there until such time that it will decide that its illegitimate interests have been served. The number of troops now occupying Arab land is close to 200,000. The number of aircraft carriers, naval units and other weapons of mass destruction is well known to all.

Secondly, threats are continually made against Iraq by the United States officials, starting from the highest levels in the United States Administration. In this connection, we may recall what George Bush said in his latest speech before the Joint Session of the United States Congress. Further, we will remember what General Dugan, the Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force in the Gulf, said, namely that the United States is planning a strike against the city of Baghdad - at the heart of Baghdad. As his statements showed up the crime in its entirety, the United States Administration found that unbearable and dismissed the general.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

Thirdly, the inhuman siege that is aimed at starving the entire Iraqi people, men, women and children, in toto, the full embargo - which started even before the Security Council adopted its resolutions on the boycott, was made so comprehensive that it far exceeded those very resolutions of the Security Council, which exempted foodstuffs and medical supplies.

Fourthly, the wide-ranging psychological intensive disinformation campaign waged by United States imperialism, in collaboration with world zionism, supports the military build-up and the starvation siege.

Fifthly, the exploitation of recent events in Eastern Europe, the attempt to manipulate them so that the whole world falls under the domination of the United States of America, so that the post-cold-war period becomes a victory for imperialism and its capitalist system.

Sixthly, the United States hegemony over the United Nations and all its organs, particularly the Security Council, is a well-known story to us. Let us merely recall the events of the past two months and the resolutions adopted by the Council.

These are the overt well-known characteristics of aggression. They are quite sufficient to prove that what the United States is doing by its presence on Arab land, its occupation of the holy places of Islam, is the implementation of a premeditated scheme of aggression which was hatched before 2 August.

What are the objectives of that aggression? Firstly, it is part of an attempt to dominate the whole world through the assumption that a new international order is being born. More accurately, this is world dictatorship. The United States of America, in the wake of the changes in Eastern Europe, is trying to impose its dominion over the peoples of the whole world.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

The history of the United States is well-known. Its stance towards the third world is well-known.

What solutions has the United States ever proposed for the problems of the third world? The crises are still raging in Afghanistan, in South Africa, in Cambodia and in other parts of the world. Where is this international détente? Is it the rapprochement and the changes in Eastern Europe? But is this the whole world? How have those changes affected the peoples of the third world? Has the development of the third world been accelerated? Events and the facts on the ground prove the reverse.

The second objective is to control the sources of oil, dominate the whole region and subjugate the Arab people. This is an old imperialist colonialist dream. We have not forgotten what used to be said of the sources of oil, the waterways of the Gulf, and the many other stories which continued to feed that old dream.

The third objective is to protect the agents and puppets in the region. Those small obedient puppets are woeful pliable tools in the hands of United States imperialism. No doubt the Assembly knows full well what we are talking about when we speak of such agents and puppets.

The fourth objective is to protect the Zionist entity. Iraq is proud that it has deterred any new Zionist aggression against Iraq and the Arab world. Hence the United States imperialist rush to cover that entity, protect it and provide it with the means to pursue its expansionist scheme that calls above all for the crushing of the Palestinian intifadah, the liquidation of the Palestinian cause, the settlement of immigrant Jews in the occupied lands and, by such means, the realization of Shamir's dream of a greater Israel. We may recall the latest statement from the United State Department of State which declared the United States' readiness to protect Israel militarily.

(Mr. Mohammed, Iraq)

As for Iraq, we have put forth our comprehensive proposals for a just settlement. This was given in detail in the initiative of President Saddam Hussein on 12 August which proposed the basis of a just solution and the settlement of all the problems in the region. However, imperialism and its agents and puppets in the region see only harm to their illegitimate interests through such a just settlement. That is what I wanted to clarify.

Mr. RAZZOOQI (Kuwait): At the beginning, frankly, I did not want to dignify the remarks of the representative of the Iraqi régime by speaking in exercise of the right of reply. He does not deserve it. He should be ashamed of himself for what he has said here. He really should be. He speaks, if I may summarize, about imperialism and about the crimes of others. And what is Iraq doing in its occupation of Kuwait? Who is the imperialist? Who is occupying whom? Who is violating the Charter? Who is pillaging my country? Who is doing all that? Who is carrying out these acts of mass destruction in Kuwait, for heaven's sake, who? I have a report here in front of me from occupied Kuwait, and in this report, Sir, young children, two days ago, aged 9 to 15, were shot dead. Why? Because they said "God is great and free Kuwait." He speaks about crime. He should be ashamed of himself.

(continued in Arabic)

The representative of the Iraqi régime speaks so much of hegemony, of hegemony over the region, of hegemony by foreign troops. However, who is seeking hegemony in the region? It is the Iraqi régime which is seeking hegemony.

What does an army of 1 million soldiers mean? What do thousands of tanks, aircraft, missiles, what does all this mean in a small area? In such an area, this strength far exceeds the real needs of defence.

(Mr. Razzooqi, Kuwait)

The sole purpose of these arms, tanks and aircraft is expansion and domination of the area. The truth is that Iraq wants to dominate the region by the use of force, by deporting its people - all in the interests of the dictator Saddam Hussein. Saddam Hussein's régime is learning and will learn yet more lessons, so that it may become an example - an example that history will record very clearly - to all deviants and all adventurous dictators.

I say to the representative of the Iraqi régime that, God willing, we shall return to Kuwait. We shall celebrate the liberation of the people and the land of Kuwait under the leadership of His Royal Highness the Prince, whom God saved from the invading and occupying Iraqi forces.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of India, who wishes to speak a second time in exercise of the right of reply. This intervention is limited to five minutes.

Mr. JAIN (India): The hour is late, and my delegation does not wish to engage in an avoidable and prolonged debate with the delegation of Pakistan.

I want only to state that history cannot be altered by the endless repetition of untruths. Nor can it alter the facts of this matter, which are well known and well established. We hope that Pakistan will abandon its chosen course - inciting violence, aiding and abetting terrorism and interfering in the internal affairs of other States - in favour of established norms of international relations.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Afghanistan, who wishes to speak a second time in exercise of the right of reply. This intervention is limited to five minutes.

Mr. ROSHAN-RANAAN (Afghanistan): At the beginning of my first statement in exercise of the right of reply I said that it was too late for representatives of the military circles of Pakistan to hide the fact that they are interfering aggressively in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. In the course of the

(Mr. Roshan-Rawaan, Afghanistan)

Pakistani representative's second statement in exercise of the right of reply we did not hear anything fresh in denial of that. He did not answer my questions concerning where the rockets come from, where all these terrorists are trained, and why fighting is confined to three provinces bordering Pakistan. He said that he would not repeat what he had said in his previous intervention in exercise of the right of reply. For that I have to give him credit. As a wise man, he realizes that repetition of a false statement does not make it true.

The PRESIDENT: I call now on the representative of Saudi Arabia, who wishes to speak a second time in exercise of the right of reply. This intervention is limited to five minutes.

Mr. SHIHABI (Saudi Arabia) (interpretation from Arabic): I do not want to take up too much of the Assembly's time. However, it appears that the Iraqi delegation have several statements - a statement for each situation, to be pulled out at a moment's notice to impress us.

The Iraqi representative insists on referring to the multilateral forces that were invited into the area by the Gulf Co-operation Council as occupation forces. Let him read the appropriate Article of the Charter. This is a multinational force drawn from 26 States and invited into the region by the countries concerned as a result of an Iraqi adventure in Kuwait - an adventure that has not yet come to an end.

Let us hope that the Iraqi régime will learn how to deal with reality, how to deal with the facts, how to be honest and open. Perhaps it could have saved itself this adventure from the beginning. Perhaps it could have saved us the need to call our friends and brethren to our side at a time of harm. Perhaps it could have saved the world this tragedy. I believe that if the tragedy is allowed to continue, it will take us back to the middle ages.

(Mr. Shihabi, Saudi Arabia)

We wish to express our thanks and appreciation to this international Assembly, which has expressed in the clearest terms the firm and unwavering international condemnation of the Iraqi aggression and has taken the régime in that country to task for its actions. We hope that this lesson will result in the return of the legitimate Kuwaiti people to their homeland. We hope that legitimacy will reign in Kuwait before long. We hope that the aggressor will be deterred from his treachery.

AGENDA ITEM 17

APPOINTMENTS TO FILL VACANCIES IN SUBSIDIARY ORGANS:

(a) APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS: REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (PART I) (A/45/577)

The PRESIDENT: The Fifth Committee recommends, in paragraph 4 of its report in document A/45/577 that the General Assembly appoint Mr. Louis Wiltshire as a member of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for a term of office beginning on 5 October 1990 and ending on 31 December 1991.

May I take it that the Assembly appoints Mr. Wiltshire?

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.